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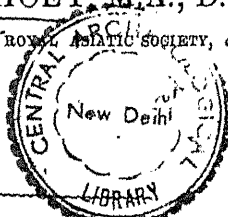
BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE "TARIKH FARAHBAKHS"
OF MUHAMMAD FAIZ BAKHS, FROM THE
ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

14893

BY

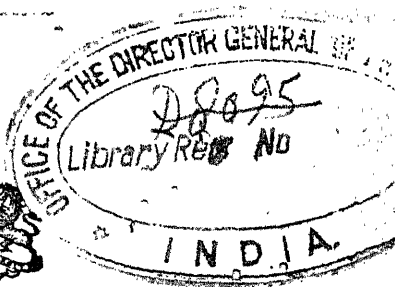
WILLIAM HOEY, M.A., D. LIT.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, &c.



VOL. I.

MEMOIRS OF DELHI.



D 8095



ALIAHABAD:

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE
* INDIA *

THE history of the Mughal empire, and especially of its decay, is a source of interest to all English readers, and the particular history of Oudh, as a separate government that rose on the ruins of the Delhi supremacy, is a matter of special concern to the officials of Government and residents in that province. These volumes will, it is hoped, add something to the store of knowledge we already possess as to the causes of the decay of the Delhi empire and the early history of the Oudh rulers.

We have already many histories of India, which narrate the gradual progress of the Muslim sovereignty in India, until it had absorbed within its supremacy all the Hindú states, and which give us some insight into the system of government and the method of cohesion of the several heterogeneous constituents of the great Mughal empire; but, though we are permitted to see the elements of potential disintegration, the period of decay is scantily portrayed. We cannot understand how the great fabric began to totter; unless we read in detail the rivalries of members of the imperial house, their domestic quarrels, their causes and their disputes, the intrigues of ambitious nobles who moulded princes to their uses and used them to their ends, and the murders which opened the road to the imperial throne.

The finger of fate seems first to touch the house of Taimúr when Aurangzeb marched from the Dakkhin to imprison his father, murder his brothers, and usurp the imperial seat. In this work the reigns of the earlier emperors of Taimúr's stock are lightly sketched, and we come to see the solid whole of the Indian empire pass to Sháhjahán: and when he is at the zenith of his glory,

Aurangzeb appears on the scene, and thenceforth an evil influence seems to be at work. His actions are faithfully sketched in their naked reality, and he stands before us an unfilial son, a perfidious brother, a suspicious father, a heartless murderer, a cruel zealot, and an intolerant bigot. The evil example of his career seems, like a pursuing Até, to haunt his successors, when Bahádur Sháh could reach his imperial heritage only through the blood of his brothers; when, again, it was only by the help of the king-making Nusrat Jang, who made three princes fight each other to the death within a few days, that Jahándár Sháh secured his succession; when Farrukhsiyar rose to upset that dissolute creature of a Hindú harlot, and with the aid of the rival kingmakers, the Saiyad brothers, secured himself, by the death of Jahándár Sháh and Nusrat Jang; when, again, the Saiyads are driven to oppose their creature and he perishes and they raise other puppets in his place and finally fall themselves in the crumbling ruins which they are dragging to the earth. Then there is the respite when Muhammad Sháh reaches the crown, and is presented to his army free of the Saiyad yoke by the Nishá-puri who founded the Oudh government. Through all this we see the baneful example of Aurangzeb, unscrupulous of the lives of potential rivals and defiant of the rights of an elder son, clearly swaying the counsels of princes long after his own departure, until at last the house of Taimúr has neither faith left nor a representative fit to rule or equal to the assertion of his right in a divided court and over rival camps. In so far as this story is told in detail and with a vigorous pen, so that the outlines are clear and the actors stand before us in bold relief, I believe that the "Memoirs of Delhi" will be welcome.

Among the most important events in the decline of the Delhi empire is the invasion of India by Nádir Sháh. The part played by Burhánu'l-mulk on that occasion has been much canvassed. I have been handed an anonymous manuscript written by a contemporary, a friend of Burhánu'l-mulk's, which gives a clear account of this matter, and I have added it as an Appendix to the "Memoirs of Delhi." Nawáb Rajab Husen Khán of Allahábád kindly handed me this valuable little pamphlet some years ago.

The history of Oudh has never been written. We have a few sketches by English hands, and we have some very brief epitomes in vernacular, but we have nothing which can be called a History. Yet the blue books regarding Oudh and the Government records of the correspondence of the East India Company and the Governor of Bengál with the Oudh Courts are at the disposal of some one yet to be found, who will utilize the materials they give. But even these will not, and cannot, suffice for the writing of a history. The contemporary records of events left by native authors must be heard and consulted. We must draw information from native sources and hear both sides of the story in respect to every transaction between the English and the native in the course of the early relations of the British with native powers in India. That such native authorities do exist is beyond doubt. The thing is to find them. The present book is one of them. It covers in great detail that much debated, and still not wholly elucidated, passage of history, the transactions between the Nawáb Wazír Asafu'ddaulah and the two Begams, his mother, the Bahu Begam, and his grandmother, the Nawáb Begam. It shows the negotiations between them, that the character of those negotiations was extortion; and is

clearly indicates that the English agents of the East India Company were cognizant of the precise nature of the transactions to which they lent their aid or countenance, and in the profits of which they shared. It is, of course, to be remembered that the Author is in a great measure open to a charge of partisanship, as he was an employé of the Bahu Begam's : but still he is entitled to a hearing as a witness, and a most respectable one, on the side of the Begams. This is the chief point of political importance in these "Memoirs of Oudh," but they are of great value in other ways. They sketch the history of Faizábád; how it rose to a remarkable degree of temporary importance, and how it was deserted by the fourth Oudh ruler in a fit of intemperate passion and at the instigation of a minister who used him as a puppet, and then how it decayed. They give us a complete history of the Begams and of their agents, and the three-cornered intrigues between them and the Lucknow Court and the Governor in Council ; and the lives of the Great Eunuch and other faithful adherents, who served the Begams, are also sketched, and the book closes with the death of the last of these. The stories of domestic and of harem life, of public disturbances, of popular tumults, mutinies of troops, of the religious feuds, and of all the affairs of the petty courts maintained by the Begams, give a picture of oriental life untouched by European intrusion, which is as entertaining as it is undoubtedly instructive. The "Memoirs of Faizábád" will, I hope, be considered a contribution of materials useful towards the compilation of Oudh history by some more skilful pen hereafter. I have other works, some of which I have translated but not yet completed, which would have been useful to the same end ; but I

find that the sacrifice entailed by labours of this class is too great, and I am compelled to abandon a field which I had hoped to work to some advantage.

The author of this history has called it the "Tárikh Farah Bakhsh" or "The Enchanting History." The reader of this translation will gather all that is known of him from the notices in his own pages. His name was Muhammad Faizbakhsh, and he was a native of Kákori in Oudh. The manuscript from which I have translated is the author's original copy. It was stolen in the mutiny, and I picked it up some years ago at Lucknow, when it was being torn up by a drug vendor to wrap drugs in. Some pages were gone here and there, but I gave him five rupees for the book. Fortunately there is a copy in the British Museum, and I have succeeded in completing every lacune but one, and it is fortunately unimportant. The Persian name of the book is given by me correctly. The chronogram, or mnemonic verses giving the date of authorship, inserted in the author's introduction, clearly establishes this. The title is "Tárikh Farah Bakhsh." I note this, because that usually most accurate historical bibliograph, Elliot, has made a mistake. In Dowson's Elliot, Vol. VIII, (edn. 1877), the item CVI is the "Tárikh-i-Faizbakhsh" of Sheo Parshad, and on page 176 it is said: "The history by Faizbakhsh of Faizábád, 'is also known by the name of 'Tárikh-i-Faizbakhsh.'" This is an error.

The author wrote this history in two clearly divided parts, and I have endeavoured to distinguish them by the separate titles of "Memoirs of Delhi" and "Memoirs of Faizábád." The former he wrote with written authorities at his hand and with descendants of the chief actors at his elbow, and the style is, as suits the subject, grave

and dignified. The latter he wrote as one who would say "quorum pars fui," and his style is easy, running, and familiar. I have tried to observe the difference between the two in my translation. In some places the author has introduced moral platitudes, where an English historian would leave the reader, whom he presumes to be capable of moral reflections, to reflect for himself. I have not thought it necessary to preserve these passages. I have also curtailed some extravagances of description. I have not attempted to retain by literal translation the conceits, the metaphors, and the hyperboles, in which Persian writing abounds. Literal translation is a test of accurate and detailed preparation in the schoolboy: but translation, in the higher sense, is the expression of the thoughts of the original in the manner in which the original writer would have expressed himself, had he thought them in the language of the translator. I have endeavoured to make this translation on that principle, and thus render it a thoroughly readable book. As the quotation of poetry is a prominent feature, a characteristic embellishment, of Persian prose, I have, in most cases where such quotations occurred, endeavoured to translate them in English verse, so that one of the essential features of the book should not be lost. What translations I give will perhaps be considered fair samples of various strains and moods: the grave, the stately, the pathetic, and the quaint.

I beg to express my acknowledgments to Sir Alfred Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, to whose encouragement the production of these volumes is due.

ALLAHABAD;

19th November, 1887.

W. HOEY.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

PRAISE GOD Who, from insensate earth,
Made for the soul this body fair,
And will in death divide the pair
He linked in partnership at birth.

How is their mystic union wrought,
Who knows, or how in death they part ?
Of Him alone we say : Thou art ;
And, save His being, all is naught.

Secure is the Creator's throne,
Beyond dominion of decay :
And all, save Him, shall pass away,
For deathlessness is His alone.

I was born at Kákori, and when I was in my thirteenth year I was engaged in the study of 'Qutbi Mantaq' and the commentaries on it. I used to spend my nights preparing my lessons for the following day in a retired place far from the crowd. It so happened that they began to make alterations in the house where I used to read, and they permitted me, for want of another place, to continue the study of my books in a house which was near the resort of some noble persons of advanced years. As they had in their prime been employed during the reign of Muhammad Sháh under Bakhsî-ulmamálik Nawáb Samsámu'ddaulah Khándaurán Khán Bahádur, Nawáb Wazíru'lмамálik 'Itimádu'ddaulah Qamaru'd-dín Khán, and Nawáb Roshanu'ddaulah, had passed thirty-two years together under the empire at Delhi, and

had seen all the wonders of Sháhjahánábád, they came together every night to relate the ups and downs of others and bewail the vicissitudes of fortune and decay of ancient splendour; and they used to pray fervently for the stability of the empire and the restoration of the city. Meanwhile, as for me, the poet says :

Each man is for some labour set apart,
Of which the love is planted in his heart :

and so, though my eyes were fixed upon the lines of my book, my ears were listening to the tales they told; on account of my youth I could not venture to intrude into their society, but my heart was with them. My mind had still this bent when my stipend was resumed, and I was obliged to go to Faizábád, where, by the kindness of Providence, I obtained a permanent livelihood in the service of the Great Názir, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. After a short time I was promoted to the office of treasurer, and in this capacity I had the honor of his companionship.

In those days Shujá'u'ddaulah, the Nawáb Wazírul-mamálik, was intently engaged in the extension of Faizábád, and he ordered the Kotwál of Lucknow to send all the servants of government and the residents of that city to Faizábád, and to punish any one who disobeyed the order to come. In fact, Mírza Nádir 'Ali, a relative of the begam's, was killed for making some little delay, although he pleaded as an excuse the inability to procure carriage. The begam demanded satisfaction, but in vain. Thus the inhabited city expanded until it extended from Nauráhi to Jalálu'ddínганj, a distance of eighteen miles. In consequence of the decline of the empire and the depopulation of Delhi, many nobles and

courtiers, who experienced the reverses of fortune, took refuge with the Nawáb Wazír, who received them with the respect and honour due to their station, and assigned each a monthly stipend proportionate to his dignity. These orders for maintenance were drawn on Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. As I was entrusted with the duty of treasurer, I was constantly meeting the agents of these nobles, and some of the nobles themselves; and when I formed an acquaintance with these, exalted personages, they treated me with the greatest kindness and invited me to share their company. They told in charming narratives the tales of the splendour and glory of their ancestors. Herein I saw the providence of God. I had long desired to see Delhi, and it was now before my gaze. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, and Yúsuf 'Ali Khán were unlike Shujá'u'ddaulah's other eunuchs, who were all absolutely uneducated. They were Persian scholars and thoroughly acquainted with Arabic etymology and syntax, and illiterate persons were not admitted to their society. The interpretation of the Qurán and the sayings of the Prophet were a common subject of conversation with them. In the evenings, when friends called in to see them, Hikmat Husen Khán and 'Ali Husen Khán, physicians of Delhi, and other gentlemen who had known Sháhjahánábád in its palmy days, used to talk of the emperors and nobles, of the habits and the customs of the city, and of its beauty and magnificence. In this way ten or twenty years passed over me.

As there is a full account given of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán in connection with Faizábád, there is no need to speak of him here. Having filled the office of the Nazarat on earth for thirty-four years after the death of Nûsrát

'Ali Khán, he was summoned in 1214 A.H. [1799 A.D.], to superintend the huris of Firdaus, and hastened to Paradise. Then the lucrative appointments which he had vacated were conferred on Muhammad Dáráb 'Ali Khán.* Although Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had thrice the dignity and opulence of his father,* for his authority extended from the mountain of Butwál on the north to the banks of the Ganges on the south, and he had more than 10,000 horse and foot, and had personal property greater than all the other eunuchs of Faizábád had been able to collect in their whole lives, yet he was never known to utter an arrogant or haughty word, and never assumed any manner or a form of speech which savoured of pride or arrogance. As he had evinced from his early boyhood a taste for literature, he was constantly engaged in reading, and when any literary discussion took place, he used to leave the most urgent business to go and share its advantages. In his early years he was fond of Arabic, and becoming proficient in etymology, syntax, and logic, he entered on the study of Šadra; but owing to his tours and journeys, which he had to make to Lucknow each year and sometimes to the mountain of Butwal, he was unable to make further progress. He was an able expositor of the ambiguities of Persian poetry. Enigmas and riddles were solved in gatherings around him. Above all, he was especially fond of historical works. He read from beginning to end the Sháhnáma, Hamla-i-Haidarí, the Masnavís of Jalálu'ddín Rúmi, Ma'ariju'n-nabuwat,

* The relation of an old eunuch to a younger one as *guru* and *chela* (priest and novice) is often referred to in this work. When a eunuch adopted another they were spoken of as father and son. This is the relation here alluded to, Jawáhir 'Ali being looked on as the adopted son of Nuşrat 'Ali, whom he succeeded.

Rauzatu'ssafa, Habibu'ssiyar, Sháhjahánnama, Akbar-náma, Taimúrnáma, Táríkh Farishta, and every other book on which he could lay his hands. The duty of reading these aloud to him was imposed on me. He used to listen to them from sunset until midnight. I heard many narratives and tales while thus privileged with the enjoyment of his society. He always sought the company of scholars, poets, and men of science. He is dead and gone.

In fine, I was from the earliest period of my intelligence above all things fond of listening to tales and narratives of the emperors, and God provided the means of gratifying my taste in the easiest possible way. Ghulám 'Ali Khán, a Saiyad of good family, a native of Rae Bareli, at the request of Mr. John Baillie, who had been sent by the Calcutta Council to Oudh as Resident at Lucknow, compiled a book in 1222 A.H. [1807 A.D.], containing a narrative of the rise and end of Burhánu'lmu'lk Sa'ádat Khán and his sons, and the causes of the independence of this súbah. The Khán extended his work to a great length, and included in it an account of Asaf Jáh Dakhini, Nawáb Qamaru'ddín Khán, the Faujdárs of Bengál, the Marhatta Sardárs, the contest between Bhae and Ahmad Abdáli, and anything else which he chose to include. He gave out that he had compiled this work in two months. He had indeed expended great research, and written well. The language was Persian, and was idiomatic, easy, and clear. I have a copy of the work. Owing to a reverse of fortune, he spent a year and some months in Dáráb 'Ali Khán's following, in the hope of obtaining employment, but did not succeed. He then went to the Collector of Gorakhpur, and spent some time there. By chance that gentleman took a notion of visit-

ing Faizábád and the Khán returned to Faizábád with him, and was everywhere at all times his companion in his excursions. They visited among other places the Gukh-Bári, the burial place of Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah and the Nawáb Begam, a beautiful and extensive pile, including many buildings. The Collector inquired from the Khán the date of Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, and when this garden was first laid out, and the history of this mausoleum, by whom and when it was built. As he was quite ignorant of these facts, he wrote a letter to me making full inquiries. As I knew all by heart, I replied at once. In the evening, when I went to Dáráb 'Ali Khán, mention was made of this in the course of conversation. He said it was, no doubt, true that no historian had undertaken to write an account of the growth of Faizábád and its decay, and other events which followed the death of Shujá'u'ddaulah. One of those present remarked that I could do so, if ordered, and Dáráb 'Ali Khán said the idea was good. Finding that he favoured the undertaking, I intimated my willingness. Next day I began to write. As many writers had narrated at great length the history of bygone emperors and had not omitted minute details, I felt as if there was nothing left for me to write regarding Delhi, and hence I have not attempted a detailed history of the past, but contented myself with a sketch. Beginning with Amír Taímúr Gházi Gorkáni, I have given the date of the birth, the accession, and the term of the reign of each emperor and the date of his death; but in some places where a detailed narrative seemed, on the whole, desirable for the benefit of my readers, I have not studied brevity. For instance, the early years of 'Alamgír Aurangzeb are most interesting and pleasant reading, and

I have dwelt on them at some length. Bakhtáwar Khán, a eunuch, wrote a history of ten years in the 'Mirát-u'l'álam'. The emperor heard of it, and issued an order, greatly to his own loss, that the historian should write no more. Hence no historian of that day dared write on that subject, but Musta'idd Khán, in the time of Bahádur Sháh, wrote a brief epitome of forty years, and they say that a man named Kháfi Khán has written a full and detailed narrative. I, however, have not seen the book. How the heart of Sháhjahán, Sáhib-i-Qirán Sáni, was inordinately fond of his elder son, Dará Shikoh, and appointed him in his own lifetime heir to the throne, and how he entrusted him with the administration of the empire, and had practically abdicated in his favour; but God had ordered that the crown and throne of the Empire of Hindústán should acquire lustre by the accession of Aurangzeb, and that all the schemes of the emperor and prince should produce a precisely opposite result to that contemplated by them; how, after the death of Bahádur Sháh, within some seven or eight years wonderful reverses happened, and extraordinary bloodshed occurred in Láhaur, all this I have briefly sketched. The rest of the story of Muhammad Sháh, who for thirty-two years reigned in the fort of Delhi, Sháhjahánábád, in peace and quiet, and after him of Ahmad Sháh, 'Alamgir Sáni, and Sháh 'Alam, and their measures, are known to everyone, and some later historians have written about them. I have not thought it necessary to go over this ground. And yet, although I have aimed at brevity and conciseness, this book has grown to exceed my intentions. My real object was to give a complete account of Faizábád and all events which happened there.

I beg to inform the readers of this book that I came in my early boyhood with the elder members of my family from my native place to Faizábád. I was then reading the 'Sharah Waqáya', a text-book of Hanafi theology, and the commentary on the 'Tasdíqát' section of the Sullam by Maulavi Hamdullah of Sandila. That was in the fifth year after the rise of the city and in the month of Šafar in the year 1183 A.H. [1769 A.D.]. I saw six years of the rule of Shujá'u'ddaulah, and remained after his death for twenty-seven years under Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. After his death the office of Nazárat was filled by Muhammad Dáráb 'Ali Khán, and during his time up to the present, a space of twenty years more, I have witnessed events, all of which I have faithfully committed to writing. Hereafter, if it please God to spare me, and I continue to reside in this city, I shall record whatever comes to pass, provided I be above fear of want and my faculties remain unimpaired.*

While pen and ink to paper gave this book,
 Like pearls my ready language seemed to run ;
 When wisdom deigned upon its date to look,
 She found it one year begun and done.
 From Paradise an angel's whisper came,
 And gave the Táríkh Farah Bakhsh its name.

MUHAMMAD FAIZ BAKHSH.

Faizábád, 1233 A.H.

* I have omitted a useless dissertation on plagiarists, and the evils of plagiarism. In the chronogram which follows, the words 'b,ek sál ágház o anjám' occur, and they yield by 'abjad' 1233 A.H. [1817 A.D.], the date of the composition of the book.

MEMOIRS OF DELHI.

AMÍR TAIMÚR was born on Tuesday night, the 25th Sha'bán, 736 A.H. [1336 A.D.], and Amír Taimúr's invasion of India. in 771 A.H. [1370 A.D.], when he was in his thirty-fifth year, he ascended the throne at Balkh. His invasion of India took place in the reign of Mahmúd Sháh, son of Muhammad Sháh, son of Fíroz Sháh, whose name is associated with the pillar at Delhi. Mahmúd Sháh fell among the slain on the field after the battle. Delhi and all its dependencies passed into Amír Taimúr's hands. Khwája Khizr Khán, who had been Ná'ib of the zila' of Mewát under the Delhi kings, and was endowed with a glib tongue, quick perception, and ready wit, waited upon the new emperor, who treated him with kindness and found his society agreeable. When he resolved to return to Persia, he appointed Khwája Khizr his viceroy in India: and the latter continued to recite the khutba and coin money in Taimúr's name and used to send him tribute, and he warned his sons, after his decease, to continue to send tribute as usual to Amír Taimúr and his descendants, and in no way swerve from their allegiance. So this practice lasted for a long time.

After the death of Amír Taimúr, which took place in a journey to Khatá, on the 17th Sha'bán, 807 A.H. [1405 A.D.], after a reign of thirty-six years, twenty-four of his sons and grandsons scrambled for power, until at last, after two or three years, not a vestige of his descendants remained except Abu'l Qásim Bábar Mírza, grandson of Sháhrukh Mírza.

The sons of Khwāja Khizr Khán, too, ceased to pay tribute until Bábar, in 932 A.H. [1525 A.D.], marched from Kábul to subdue Hindústán, and entered Delhi. In a short time he reduced Multán, Láhaur, Agra, Oudh, Bihár, Málwah, and Allahábád. He died at Agra on Tuesday, the 6th Jamádi, ulawwal, 937 A.H. [1531 A.D.], aged forty-nine years. He was born in 888 A.H. [1483 A.D.], ascended the throne in 930 A.H. [1524 A.D.], and lived forty-nine years and four months by the lunar reckoning, and by the same his reign extended over thirty-seven years eight months and one day. Of this term he was for eleven years King of Farghána, Samargand, and Bukhára, and nearly twenty-two years of Badakhshán, Kábul, and Qandhár, and for the last five he was Emperor of Hindústán. The words 'Khairu'l-mulúk' ('best of kings') yield the date of his death.*

Bábar came into Hindústán five times. On the fifth occasion, in 932 A.H. [1525 A.D.], he engaged Sultán Ibráhím, son of Sikandar Lodi, who had one hundred thousand cavalry and one thousand elephants, and defeated him. Sikandar was killed.

Zahíru'ddín Muhámmad Bábar had, besides Humáyún,

Humáyún. three other sons—Mírza Kámran,
Mírza Hindál, and Mírza 'Askari.

He gave Kábul to Mírza Kámran and the territories of Qandhár and Dádar to Mírza 'Askari. Humáyún mounted the throne of Delhi according to his father's will and kept Mírza Hindál with him. Bábar had also enjoined on Humáyún to maintain cordial relations with his brothers, and he consequently aimed at all times at

* This is a chronogram by the Persian reckoning of value of letters of the alphabet, technically called 'abjad.'

conciliating them: but they were intractable, and bent upon the overthrow of his empire and the destruction of his life; and the misfortune which ultimately overtook him through the revolt of Sher Khán Afghán was owing to their hostility. When five years of his reign had elapsed, Sher Khán, son of Hasan Khán Súr, raised the standard of rebellion in Bihár and Bengál, and the Emperor was compelled to move in person from Delhi to suppress the revolt. When they encountered each other in battle, there was a split in the emperor's ranks and victory declared for Sher Khán. Although the emperor himself entered the fight and wounded with his spear the forehead of the elephant on which was riding Khawáss Khán, Sher Khán's adopted son, who was in the front of the enemy's army, and in whom Sher Khán had entire trust, yet, his hand having been wounded by an arrow which Khawáss discharged, he was disabled, and his spear was cut in two by the sword of an Afghán. Not one of his staff stood by him in this strait. He was compelled to fly for Delhi. When he found the swollen flood of the Ganges impede his escape, he put his trust in God and plunged into the river.

"A boat the craven* here in vain will crave:

I trust my Maker and I take the wave."

It happened that in the middle of the stream, where the buffeting of the waters rendered it impossible to maintain an upright position, his foot slipped from his stirrup. When he had been several times borne under by the current and his arms and legs were no longer able to bear him up, he was unexpectedly overtaken by

* The original has a pun '*pákhuda*,' which means either the pilot, captain of a boat, or one who trusts not in God. I cannot reproduce this in English, so I adopt this slight conceit of 'craven' and 'crave.'

one of his campfollowers, a water-carrier named Nizám, who had fled for his life, and, laying himself in the river on his inflated sheepskin, was swimming across. He came alongside the emperor, who would have grasped even at a straw, and saved his life by taking him on his back. When the emperor reached Delhi, he kept a promise which he had made to the water-carrier when in the river, and placed him for half a day on the throne of India. The story is well known.

Humáyún collected his forces a second time and faced Sher Khán, but the fates were against him, and after many engagements he at last found himself unable to hold Delhi and Láhaur. He took refuge from the pursuit of the Afgháns with his family in Sind, where he spent four years in great distress. At last, by the advice of Bairám Khán, he went to Irán to beg the assistance of Sháh Tahmásp. Shekh Abu'l Fazl has given in the Akbarnáma a detailed account of how he was received and entertained. The following is the letter which Humáyún wrote and sent to Sháh Tahmásp when he was setting out upon his journey to Irán.

“After the usuâl expression of loyalty and regard which the amenities of correspondence demand, although I have but little acquaintance with Your Majesty and the humility of my situation is great, esteeming myself insignificant compared to Your Majesty, who are the shadow of God, the dispenser of divinê illumination and the illustration of perfect virtues, I venture to state : Although to the outward eye I have not ranged myself among Your Majesty’s honourable servants, yet have I always held the neck of my heart bound with the chain of love and affection

"as with a weight, and have striven, with and without
 "intermediaries, to gain an interview with Your Majes-
 "ty, which would prove to me the source of many bene-
 "fits and blessings, and I have desired to taste awhile
 "the sweetness of looking upon Your Majesty's noble
 "face, until at last, in the course of time's changes and
 "the ups and downs of fortune, I have exchanged the
 "broad domains of Hindústán for the narrower limits
 "of Sind.

"Now all is gone that o'er my head hath passed

"By sea, on mountain, and in desert vast."

"Now that I am flying on joyful pinion to behold Your
 "Majesty's resplendent beauty, my hope is that, when I
 "shall have obtained the favour of an interview, which
 "is the fulfilment of my many purposes, an opportunity
 "may, please God, occur to detail matters and events
 "worthy of Your Majesty's ear."

Muhammad Khán Beglarbegi was then governor of
 Harát, and when Humáyún arrived at that place, he
 wrote to Sháh Tahmásp informing him of his arrival.
 The Sháh issued a farmán to the governor, instruct-
 ing him how to receive his guest, and prescribing a
 course of cordial hospitality.*

When Humáyún had resided for four years in Irán,
 Sháh Tahmásp permitted him to leave, and sent with
 him his own son, Sultán Murád, who was but a young
 lad, in command of twelve thousand Qazilbásh horse.
 When they arrived in Kábul, Sultán Murád was struck
 down by the adverse climate and died. The Qazilbásh

* The original gives a copy of the letter, but, whatever its merits as a specimen of Persian letter-writing may be, it is omitted in this translation as it is foreign to the narrative.

horse, who shrank from entering Hindústán and undertaking a long march, pleaded the duty of escorting Sultán Murád's corpse and returned from Kábul. Humáyún, trusting to Providence and biding the turn of affairs, elected to remain in Kábul with the small remnant of his Indian army which was with him.

In the course of the past eight or nine years Sher Sháh and Islám Sháh had passed away. Sikandar Sháh, a relative of Sher Sháh's, was reigning in Delhi, and Sher Sháh's system of government was deranged. Humáyún, who was waiting for just such tidings, sent Khán Khánán Bairám Khán with Prince Akbar, who was then thirteen years eight months and seven days old by the lunar reckoning, to encounter Sikandar. The latter had not the courage to fight, but shut himself up in the mountain stronghold of Jammu. Bairám Khán and the young prince proceeded to invest the place. At this critical juncture Humáyún, when coming down from his house-top, slipped his foot at the fourth step. He fell and expired. The chronogram 'Humáyún bádsháh az bám uftád' is a unit less than the date of his death.*

Bairám Khán left a force to besiege Sikandar and turned back with Prince Akbar to the fort of Kalánúr in one of the Panjáb districts, and there crowned the prince on Friday, the 2nd Rabí'ur'ráni, 963 A. H. [1556 A. D.] He then returned to prosecute the siege in person.

* The author may not have known the reading 'Humáyún bádsháh az bám uftád.' By adding the *waw* in uftád, the total is 968, and then cutting off the 'h' of Humáyún, which is the head of the line, as the roof is the head of a house, and which is value for 5, the balance left is 963, the correct date A.H. This is a chronogram by 'takhríja,' subtraction.

As it will not be altogether unprofitable to digress for the purpose of narrating the fate of Sher Sháh's descendants, a brief account of them will here be given. After the death of Islám Sháh, better known as Salím Sháh, his son Fíroz Sháh, who was then in his ninth year, ascended the throne. Mubáriz Khán Adli, cousin and brother-in-law of Salím Sháh, had complete control of the administration owing to Salím Sháh's minority. He went one day, bent on treachery, with great pomp to Fíroz Sháh's residence. Fíroz Sháh rose to receive him. Mubáriz Khán led him inside the seraglio intending to kill him. His sister, who was Fíroz Sháh's mother, threw herself on the ground before him, and said: "Mount the throne undisputed and unopposed, but spare the life of this innocent boy." The cursed wretch, heedless of his sister's appeal and unmoved by the helplessness of the fatherless lad, butchered him like a sheep before his mother's eyes. He then assumed the sovereignty. When the news spread, all Sher Sháh's relatives and Islám Sháh's cousins, who were governing in various places in Bengál, execrated the name of Mubáriz Khán Adli, declared themselves independent, and read the khutba and struck coins in their own names. Mubáriz Khán left a relative named Ibráhím to represent him at Delhi, and marched to crush his brethren. As fate would have it, he was utterly defeated in Bengál by one of his brothers, and in his extremity he wrote to Hammún Baqqál of Narnaul, who had risen from the humble lot of a grocer to the position of commander-in-chief. This prodigy of courage was near Delhi with a large army and numberless elephants. Mubáriz Khán urged him to leave Ibráhím at Delhi and come to his

assistance with the utmost haste. Hammún marched rapidly to Bengál and pressed Mubáriz Khán's enemies hard. When Ibráhím Khán, who was at Delhi, saw that Mubáriz Khán and Hammún were detained in the reduction of Bengál and other eastern parts, and that there was no one to oppose him in the west, he seated himself on the throne of Delhi. Sikandar Súr, a cousin of Sher Sháh's, who was faujdár of Hindún and Biána, wrote a letter to Ibráhím Khán, saying "Sher Sháh has many brethren, and you should not claim supremacy while Mubáriz Khán is alive : we are all his subjects." Ibráhím Adli turned a deaf ear to Sikandar. A long negotiation ensued and ended in a severe engagement between them. Although Ibráhím had the advantage in point of numbers and war materials, he sustained a crushing defeat at Sikandar's hands, owing to his haughty pride, and abandoned the imperial appointments and fled as best he could toward Bihár and Bengál. All the imperial properties and furniture fell into Sikandar's hands, and he stepped unchallenged on the throne. On seeing these great changes, Humáyún opposed Sikandar, and as the star of the Sher Sháhi family had set, Sikandar, with all his prestige and great forces, was defeated and shut himself up in the fortress of Mánkot, where Bairám Khán besieged him as already mentioned. He resumed the siege when he had crowned Muhammad Akbar at Kalánúr after Humáyún's death.

News of the siege was carried by messengers to Hammún Baqqál in Bengál. He turned with all his power to repel Humáyún. He had with him seventy thousand horse and one thousand elephants. He settled the affairs of Eastern Bengál with deliberation and marched to

Delhi. His first engagement was a severe fight under the walls of the Delhi fort with Tardi Beg Khán, one of Humáyún's lieutenants, who was a most haughty man and was always pulling against Bairám Khán. At first Tardi Beg was victorious, and his soldiers began to plunder. When Hammún saw the enemy bent on loot, he fell upon their rear and pressed hard upon Tardi Beg. The latter stood alone confronting Hammún's elephants and soldiers and held his ground: but, as the saying goes, mosquitos enough will kill an elephant, and he was eventually compelled to fly, as his own officers failed to support him and Hammún's adherents swarmed around him. He hurried to Akbar and Bairám Khán. On the first day Bairám Khán was very courteous to him, but next day he threw him under the feet of an elephant to satisfy his old grudge, and then paraded his corpse. Thus, on pretence of making an example to prevent any officer again flying from a foe, he rid himself of his malevolence. On the third day Bairám Khán and Hammún met on the field of Pániyat. Hammún was killed and Akbar became undisputed ruler of Hindústán. For fifty years two months and ten days he reigned over the four quarters of Hindústán, and died on the 12th of Jamádi, ussáni, 1014 A.H. [1605 A.D.], at the age of sixty-three years eleven months and seven days. He had three sons: Sultán Murád and Sultán Dániyál, who died in his lifetime, and Muhammad Núru'ddín Muhammad Jahángír, who revolted against his father and asserted his independence in the fort of Allahábád. Akbar brought up Khusru, Jahángír's son, and kept him constantly with him. Eventually he enticed Jahángír to come from Allahábád. The latter came with a large force on which he could depend, and wished to avoid

entering the fort of Akbarábád, preferring to meet his father at the head of his retinue some two or three days after his arrival, when the emperor might happen to come out to ride or hunt. When the emperor heard that the prince was near the fort, he went out, contrary to custom, two miles to meet his son, and so completely reassured and won him that he entered the fort. He first brought him into the female apartments, and they dined together. After dinner he took him into his private room, pretending to consult him, and then slipped out himself, and chained and locked the door with his own hand. The prince, as soon as he realized his situation, knocked his head on the stone like a madman and sank under the darkness and confinement. He tasted neither food nor drink for three or four days. The emperor, fearing the death of his only surviving son, then brought him out and placed him in the Chhár Bágh, opposite the fort on the other side of the river. He placed a guard of his trusted servants round the garden to watch the prince.

Akbar was now seized with a violent illness, and when he was suffering acutely, he gave orders that Amíru'l-umara A'zam Khán Kokah Kokultásh Khán should maintain guard in muhalla Bukhári, and that Rája Rájahá Rája Mán Singh Kachhwáha should post himself at the outer gate of the palace which is in the very heart of the Chauk; and he told off Shekh Faríd Bukhári, paymaster, to hold the Khizri Darwáza, which is on the bank of the river under the Sháh Burj. His sickness continued for six months and he lost hope of recovery. He then appointed Prince Khusru his successor, for the reason that that prince was son of Rája Mán Singh's sister and was married to A'zam Khán Kokah's daughter, and these two influential nobles and the Emperor desired that

Khusrú should come to the throne after Akbar's death. This was all contrary to the Divine will, for after a week the schemes of their weaving broke up like a spider's web and not one of their aims was effected. On the 12th Jamádi, usṣāni, 1014 A.H. [1605 A.D.], Akbar died, at the age of sixty-three years eleven months and seven days, after a reign of fifty-one years two months and ten days. The

Khusrú. aforesaid nobles placed Prince Khusrú on the throne. He made it his practice to visit his grandfather's tomb daily, and he used to spend a long time reciting prayers and distributing food to the poor. One day, after a week had elapsed, when Khusrú was at the tomb as usual, Shekh Faríd, Akbar's paymaster, who had for a long time been intimate with Jahángír, seized the opportunity, crossed the river with some trusty companions, brought Jahángír from the Chhár Bágh, entered the fort by the Khizri gate and placed him on the throne. Khusrú was informed of this on his way back, and in great chagrin betook himself to his private residence outside the fort. He went next morning to see his father, who placed him by his side on the throne and surprised him by calling him his heir and his vicegerent. The prince, however, did not feel secure, and one day, when he went as usual to his grandfather's tomb, he fled with a few followers from Akbarábád and went towards Láhaur in great haste. The Emperor despatched a force in pursuit of him with the utmost expedition, and stringently ordered the zamíndárs of those parts to capture him wherever they might find him. Next day he was so uneasy that he rode out himself and forgot to eat his customary dose of opium. When he had ridden some miles, he began to yawn and yawn and

he grew faint. He dismounted in the shade of a tree to eat his opium and sat down. He burst into tears and justly observed : "Here am I, notwithstanding my security, who have all India at my command : I was so put out that I forgot my dose of opium: how will my son be now, with death before him and an army behind hastening to capture him?" But his greed of power and empire was so overwhelming that he did not refrain from the pursuit. The prince went on harassed by dread, and his companions deserted him one by one. At last he reached the Rávi with a few domestic servants, and finding a broken boat, he put out in it and tried to cross the river. The boat grounded in a shallow. The villagers recognized him by his royal dress, brought him another boat which was safe and fit for him and put him into it, and they showed him a ford close by, by which he could cross to a safe spot, and they rowed him slowly in that direction while the imperial troops came up and captured him. He never regained his liberty and was poisoned in Sháhjahán's time. Various accounts of his death are current. His body was finally carried to Allahábád and there buried. The garden in which stands his tomb is still maintained at Allahábád. It is well known. I happened to go to Allahábád in 1198 A. H. [1784 A.D.] with Asafu'd-daulah to meet Governor Hastings, and I visited the prince's resting-place. The care-takers of the tomb exacted for it the respect due to kings. I repeated the Fátíha, was overcome by emotion, and withdrew.

Jahángír mounted the throne on Thursday, the 20th Jamádi, ussání, 1014 A. H. [1605 A.D.], in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He reigned for twenty-two years eight months and

nine days, and died on Sunday, the 20th Šafar, 1036 A.H. [1626 A.D.], when on his return journey from Kashmír to Láhaur. He was buried in Láhaur, and the chronogram of his death is *Jahángír az 'jahán raft*. At this juncture Sultán Khurram Sháhjahán was under surveillance in the Dakhin in the fort of Chambar, which was held by Malik 'Ambar Habshi, a slave of Nizám Sháh's. By the exertions of Ásaf Jáh, Núrjahán Begam's brother, and Mahábat Khán, he was crowned in the fort of Akbarábád.

Jahángír was born on Wednesday, the 17th Rabi'u'l-awwal, 977 A. H. [1569 A.D.], at Fatahpur Síkri, in the ninth year of Akbar's reign. As Akbar had unbounded faith in Sháh Salím Chishti, and he believed that the child had been born in answer to his prayers, he named the infant prince Sultán Salím. The tale of Jahángír's love for Núrjahán and stories of his justice are told in the histories. Strange to say, Núrjahán's daughter by Sher Afgan Khán was married to Sultán Shaharyár, Jahángír's son. After Jahángír's death Núrjahán desired to place him on the throne: and Ásaf Jáh, her brother, whose daughter was married to Sultán Khurram Sháhjahán, wished that his son-in-law should succeed. Pending the arrival of Sultán Khurram from Chambar, which was effected only by the use of many stratagems, Ásaf Jáh waved the imperial umbrella over the head of Sultán Dáwar Bakhsh, better known as Buláqi, son of Sultán Khusru, sent him to Delhi, and placed him on the throne, which he occupied until Sháhjahán reached Akbarábád after many adventures and assumed the empire.

They say that when Khwája Ghiyás, who was

A brief account of eventually known as 'Itimádu'd-dau-
Núrjahán Begam. lah, a resident of Taharán in Persian

‘Irâq, was reduced to great straits of poverty, he resolved to emigrate to Hindústân. He had no worldly goods but one bullock, on which he placed his wife, and he and his son, Abu’l Hasan, travelled on foot. His wife was pregnant. When they approached the confines of India, their funds were exhausted, and they spent that night without food. Next day they entered Hindústân, and she gave birth to a child while they were on their march. Khwája Ghíyás was grieved at the birth and remarked : “ This child conceived in adversity was the cause of our exile, and now that she is born, the scanty food we had has on the very day of her birth been exhausted. I am sure many griefs and sorrows will follow us through her. We had better abandon her in this desert.” At last, after a long discussion, they left the poor child behind and went on. The mother, like all mothers full of love, threw herself from the bullock after they had advanced a few miles and exclaimed : “ For nine whole months I carried her in my womb and suffered many pains. Now that I had the fruit of my labour in my arms, it has been cruelly snatched from me. It is better to bring me the child if she is still alive, or if dead, let me know her fate.”* Although his wife’s entreaties grew more and more persistent, Khwája Ghíyás refused to turn back : and at last Abu’l Hasan, moved by his mother’s distress, returned. When he came near the infant cradled in the dust, a queen that was yet to be, he saw a cobra with expanded hood shading her face from the burning sun. At the sound of his feet this prophetic snake slipped away. Abu’l Hasan was

*The sentence in the original is longer, highly figurative and not grammatical, evidently so framed to represent the disjointed sayings of the mother. It cannot be literally translated in good English.

astonished. He lifted the child. A darvesh, who was in the enjoyment of divine illumination, happened to meet Abu'l Hasan and asked him : " Traveller in this world, " who are you that are drawing to your bosom this object " of the Creator's favours?" Abu'l Hasan replied: " She " and I are the children of one mother." " Henceforth," said the darvesh, " nurse this empress of Hindústán " in the lap of comfort." From this prophetic utterance, and on account of what he had seen of the snake, Abu'l Hasan ever after had an especial care for his sister. He told his parents the good news, and his father, when he heard it, was moved to tenderness, and they came on to Láhaur. A nobleman of Akbar's court, who was nearly related to them, was glad to receive the son and father, set them up, introduced them to the Emperor's service, and procured them appointments. Khwája Ghiyás became Accountant-General and Abu'l Hasan Auditor-General. After a time, by one of those chances which artful time loves to create, the emperor Akbar gave an entertainment within the seraglio and commanded all his nobles to send their ladies to share in the festivities. All the ladies attended. Jahángír, then Prince Salím, was with his father and his eyes fell upon Khwája Ghiyás' daughter, who was then unmarried, and he fell in love with her, but through fear of his father and respect for him, he dared not speak to her of his love. He treasured it in his heart. When Akbar died and Jahángír came to the throne, he searched for the object of his love. His friends told him that she had been married during his father's reign to 'Ali Quli Turkmán, who was in Bengál. He was inflamed on hearing this unpleasant news and was so incensed that he summoned 'Ali Quli Khán from Bengál, where

he had been installed a long time. At first he treated him with a great show of regard, but he secretly instructed some of his guard to mark in the jungles a tiger of unusual fierceness and strength. The men traced a tiger and told Jahángîr. The emperor was delighted and took 'Ali Quli Khán out with him to hunt, thinking he now had him in his power. When they came near the tiger's den, the emperor said: 'Let one of my servants tackle this tiger to-day single-handed with a sword.' 'Ali Quli, who knew the Emperor's intention, laid aside all his weapons, ungirded himself, and went with but one article of clothing upon him to face this hungry tiger, round which for three days had been drawn a stockade and a guard to prevent its egress. The emperor cried: 'It is folly to face a tiger without a weapon.' 'Ali Quli said: 'My antagonist is unarmed and to carry arms against him is unfair.' 'A tiger's weapons,' said the emperor, 'are his teeth and claws.' 'I too,' 'Ali Quli went on, 'have teeth and nails,' and he closed with the tiger empty handed, seized him by the forepaws and flung him to the ground with such force that he was unable to rise again. He then seated himself on the tiger's breast and said: 'If it be the imperial pleasure to spare the tiger, I shall tie him with ropes and hand him over to the imperial tiger-keepers, and, if his death be willed, that is a matter of two or three blows of my fist.' The emperor was astounded at his daring and strength, and brought the beast to the city alive in an iron cage. He named 'Ali Quli Sher Afgan (tiger-slayer), but became more firmly resolved to crush him. Accordingly he several times resorted to artifices of this kind. On one occasion on a hint from the emperor they let a raging elephant

loose to meet him on his way. The elephant attacked him and 'Ali Quli brought down his sword on its head, cutting away one tusk with the trunk. The beast toppled over on the ground and expired. On another occasion the emperor picked forty powerful and desperate men from his army and retinue, and sent them to fall upon him while he was asleep at night, but God saved him, as his days were not yet numbered. When he could effect nothing by these machinations he appointed him again to Bengál, and after a short time sent after him twenty-two influential nobles and gave them a hint to contrive somehow to put him out of the way. Qutbu'ddín Khán, Khán 'Alim, guaranteed to effect this. The day that he entered Bardwán, 'Ali Quli, who was off his guard, went out unarmed to receive him: and, when they met, the sergeant of the orderlies and mace-bearers, as pre-arranged, while keeping order and putting back the crowd, struck Sher Afgan's horse on the back with a mace. The insult was too much for the lion's heart. He drew a sword which he had hanging by his side and struck the elephant on which the leading officer* rode, a blow which clove the elephant's trunk down to the tusks, and then struck the howdah and cut it and the officer in two. When the other nobles saw this, they ordered their musketeers to greet 'Ali Quli with a shower of bullets and arrows. Two arrows and two bullets lodged in his breast and forehead and he died. They say that on his death his wife was forwarded to the emperor. For two years he did not send for her, and he merely allowed her a tenth part of what would suffice for her

* Khán 'Alim is meant—*vide infra*.

strictest needs. The reason of his not sending for her is that Khán 'Alim was killed by 'Ali Quli's hand, and this sat heavily on the emperor's heart. Some say she lived in great luxury. At the end of two years she wrote to the emperor. He was moved to pity for her, went to her house, brought her away with him, and married her the same day.

Sháhjahán was born at Láhaur on Saturday, the 26th Rajab, 1000 A.H. [1592 A.D.], in the 26th year of Akbar's reign, and he came to the throne at the age of thirty-seven years in the year 1037 A.H.

Brief account of the accession of Shaháb-u'ddín Sultán Khurram Sháhjahán.

[1628 A.D.]. He ruled India for thirty-two years with great glory, dignity, impartiality, and justice. He had 800,000 cavalry and 40,000 foot. Of these about 100,000 cavalry, that were under the orders of Dará Shikoh, Sultán 'Shujá', Aurangzeb, Murád Bakhsh and his grandsons, were furnished with two or three horses to each rider. During his reign the comfort of the army and the people generally, the prosperity of the country, the accumulation of treasure, the public security and tranquillity, the appreciation and encouragement of learning and science and the arts in general, attained a pitch never reached in any other country or under any other sovereign of Taimúr's race. The people of India without distinction of creed and race lived under the benign protection of this brilliant potentate in perfect comfort, prosperous and contented. Magnificent buildings were erected in his reign such as it never entered into the minds of architects in any other age to plan: especially the fine buildings in different cities, which Sháhjahán himself designed, and which to this day still stand like shadows reflected from the upper world: first,

the imperial palace, known as the Fort of Sháhjahánábád; second, the Masjid-i-Jámi', which is opposite the fort; third, the tomb of Mumtáz Mahál, Ásaf Jáh's daughter, his favorite wife, which stands on the banks of the Jamna at Akbarábád; fourth, the garden of Shallah Már in Láhaur, which is one of his constructions; fifth, Nawáb Ásaf Jáh's house in Láhaur, which is a building quite unique. Travellers round the world say that there are no buildings which can rival these. To no former king had ever been given such a measure of imperial pomp and glory as was vouchsafed to Sháhjahán Sáhib-i-Qirán Sáni, and no other sovereign has been blessed with so many successes as this emperor during the years he held the throne. Among others may be mentioned the capture of the fortress of Qandhár and the conquest of the territories of Balkh, which is known as Ummu'l-bilád (Mother of cities), which were effected by the exertions and bravery of his intelligent, brave, and clever son, Sultán Aurangzeb 'Alamgír. In short, during his reign of thirty-two years Sháhjahán was granted by God some blessings which few people are permitted to enjoy: first, his empire rested on four pillars, that is, his four sons; second, he had a wise minister in Sa'dullah Khán, who was the Aristotle of his day; third, a galaxy of nobles unequalled in any other time for either their riches or their dignity; fourth, the completion of magnificent buildings; fifth, the diffusion of justice.

The territories included in the Indian Empire in the days of Sháhjahán were bounded by the sea on three sides, viz., the Súbah of Bengál on the east, the Súbahs of the Dakhin in the south, and Thatha on the west. On the north it extended to

A detailed account of the territories administered by Sháhjahán, Defender of the Faith.

a lofty range of mountains which forms like the ocean itself a barrier unexplored. Kashmír, Tibat, Kumáon and other provinces in these mountain ranges were included in the dependencies of the empire. Its length from the port of Láhari to Silhat in Bengál was about four thousand miles, and its breadth from Qarábágh beyond Ghazni to Udman about three thousand two hundred. If, at the rate of twenty miles a day, which is the usual stage in India, one were to travel from one end of its length to the other continuously and make no halts, he could in the course of six months and twenty days walk across the Empire of India.

LIST OF THE DÁMI ASSESSMENTS AND OF THE
REVENUES OF THE SÚBAHS OF THE EMPIRE.*

SÚBAH SHÁHJAHANÁBÁD, DELHI.

This súbah contained twelve sarkárs, two hundred and eighty-one maháls, yielding 3,15,84,869 rupees. It was bounded on the west by Láhaur; the east by Akbarábád; the south by Ajmír; and on the north by the mountains of Kumáon. From Palwal near Akbarábád to Ludhiána on the bank of the Satlaj its length was three hundred and twenty miles; from Rewári to the Kumáon mountains its breadth was two hundred and eighty miles.

SÚBAH AKBARÁBÁD, AGRA.

This súbah comprised twelve sarkárs and two hundred and forty-four maháls, yielding 2,62,84,470

* I have compared the following enumeration of Súbahs with Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, but have retained any peculiarities of names which I find in this work, as some may be valuable.

rupees. It was bounded on the west by Palwal; the east by Gbátampur; the south by Chanderi; and on its north flowed the rivers Ganges, Jamna, and Chambal.

SÚBAH DARU'SULTANAT, LAHAUR.

This súbah comprised the parganas of Kangra, &c., in which were three thousand and fifty-one maháls yielding 1,66,67,596 rupees. It consists of tracts lying between rivers: Duába Jálándhar, situated between the Satlaj and Biyáh rivers; Duába Bári-Rachán, between the Biyáh and Barái; Duába Sindh Ságar, between Bhat and Sindh; Duába Chakla Malúki Dhan; Duába Chanáb, between the Rávi and Chanáb; Duába Jumba between the Chanáb and Sindh. On the east lay Sah-rind; on the west Multán; on the north the mountains of Jammu; on the south Dípálpur. Its breadth from the Satlaj to the river Sindh was three hundred and sixty miles. The length is not recorded.

SÚBAH DARU'LMULK, KABUL.

This súbah contained forty-eight maháls yielding 40,53,600 rupees. It was bounded on the east by the Indus; on the west by Ghorband; on the north by Andaráb, Badakhshán, and Nandkoh; on the south by Jarmal and Karor. Its breadth from Attak to Hindukoh was three hundred miles and its length from Qarábágh Qandhár to Chaghán Sará two hundred miles. The chief rivers are the Indus, Níláb, Ghaznín, Katak, Ghorband, Surkháb, &c.

SÚBAH JINNATNAZIR, KASHMYR.

This súbah contained fifty-three maháls yielding 24,57,984 rupees. The countries of Tibet, Srinagar, &c.,

were included in the east of this súbah. Sirsamban and the river Chanáb lie on the south-east; the Hinavat and Kohkalán on the south-west; the country of the Ghakkars on the west; and Little Tibet on the north. On all sides are mountains towering to the sky. The breadth from Fatar to the river Kishngang is two hundred and forty miles. The length is one hundred and sixty miles. The principal rivers are the Indus, Bhat, and Kishngang, which falls into the Indus below Palanki.

SÚBAH DARU'LAMÁN, MULTÁN.

This súbah contained five sarkárs, ninety-eight maháls, and twenty-six zila's, yielding 52,46,637 rupees. It is bounded on the east by the sarkár of Sahrind; on the west by Kunj Mikrán; on the north by Shorkot; and on the south by Ajmír. Its breadth from Murár to Sfústán is eight hundred miles; and its length from Chitaur to Salnúr in Ajmír two hundred and fifty.

SÚBAH THATHA.

This súbah contained four sarkárs, fifty-six maháls. Its breadth was from Bhakkar to Kunj Mikrán five hundred miles; and its length from Madín to Bandar Láhari two hundred. On the east lies Ahmaḍábád, Gujrát; on the west Kunj Mikrán; on the north Bhakkar; and on the south is the Indus.

SÚBAH GUJRÁT.

This contained ten sarkárs and twenty-five maháls, yielding 1,21,83,655 rupees. It is bounded on the east by Khándesh; on the west by Dwárka on the sea coast; on the south by the mountain Bhím; and on the north

by Jalaur and Ydar. Its breadth from the confines of Burhampur to Dwárka is six hundred and four miles, and its length from Jalaur to the seaboard five hundred and twenty miles.

SÚBAH DÁRU'LKHAIR, AJMÉR.

In this súbah were eight sarkárs and two hundred and nineteen maháls, yielding 80,44,831 rupees in harvest produce of the year. On the east it is bounded by Akbarábád; on the west by Dípálpur; on the north by villages of the Sháhjahánábád sarkár; and on the south by Gujrát. Its breadth from Anír to Bíkánír is two hundred and sixteen miles; and its length from Ajmír to Baswára three hundred miles.

SÚBAH MÁLWAH.

This súbah contained twenty-one sarkárs, yielding a dámi revenue of 1,04,19,048 rupees. On the east is Mándugarh; on the west Gujrát and Ajmír; on the north Narwar; and on the south Buklána. Its breadth from Garh to Baswára is four hundred and eighty miles, and its length from Chanderi to Madarbár is four hundred and sixty miles.

SIX SÚBAHS OF THE DAKHIN, WHICH ARE SEPARATE FROM HINDÚSTAN.

(1).—SÚBAH KHÁNDESH, BURHÁNPUR.

This súbah, containing five sarkárs, yields 47,39,562 rupees. On the east is Barár; on the west Málwah; on the south Jálna; and on the north Málwah. Its breadth from Nurgáun, which is near Hándiya, to Lalnak

in Gujrát is one hundred and fifty miles; and its length from Jamod in Barár to Mál near Málwah is one hundred miles.

(2.)—SÚBAH BARÁR.

This comprised ten sarkárs and two hundred and ninety-seven maháls, yielding 1,09,46,642 rupees. It is bounded on the east by Píragarh, on the west by Bhakkarábád; on the north by Hándiya; on the south by Talingana. Its breadth from Batála to Píragarh is four hundred miles; and its length from Bidar to Hándiya three hundred and sixty miles.

(3.)—SÚBAH KHUJISTAH BUNYÁD, AURANGÁBÁD.

This súbah consisted of eight sarkárs and seventy-nine maháls, yielding 1,26,33,176 rupees.

(4.)—SÚBAH MUHAMMADÁBÁD, BIDAR.

In this were forty-three maháls, yielding 66,59,811 rupees.

(5.)—SÚBAH BIJÁPUR, DARU'ZZAFAR.

The revenue of this súbah was 3,36,64,971 rupees.

(6.)—SÚBAH DARU'LJIHÁD, HAIDARÁBÁD.

This yielded 2,00,94,648 rupees, exclusive of the sáyar mahál.

The following are the five súbahs of Eastern Hindústán :—

SÚBAH ORISA.

This súbah comprised thirteen sarkárs and two hundred and twenty-four maháls, yielding 16,58,813 rupees. Its breadth is two hundred and forty miles, and its length two hundred. It runs along the sea coast.

SÚBAH BENGÁL.

This consisted of thirty-four sarkárs, one thousand three hundred and five maháls, yielding 1,45,19,247 rupees. On the east is the ocean; on the west the súbah of Bihár; on the north and south mountains. Its breadth, from the port of Chátganw to Garhi, two hundred and forty miles; and its length, from the mountains on the north to the sarkár of Madáran, four hundred miles.

SÚBAH BIHÁR, PATNA.

This comprised seven sarkárs and two hundred and thirty-eight maháls, yielding 85,15,683 rupees. It is bounded on the east by Bengál; on the west by Allahábád; on the north and south by mountains. Its breadth from Garhi Ruhtás is two hundred and forty miles; and its length, from Tirhut to the mountains in the north, two hundred and twenty.

SÚBAH AWADH OR AJUDHIYA.

This súbah was composed of five sarkárs (1) Haveli Kháss, (2) Sarkár Lakhnau (Lucknow), (3) Khairábád, (4) Bahraich, (5) Gorakhpur, having one hundred and nineteen maháls, yielding 83,54,848 rupees. On its east is Súbah Bihár; on its west Qanauj, a sarkár of Akbarábád. It extends on the south to Mánikpur in Allahábád Súbah; and on the north it is bounded by the mountains. Its breadth from Gorakhpur to Qanauj is two hundred and sixty miles, and its length from the mountains in the north to Hándiya in the Allahábád Súbah is two hundred and thirty miles.

SÚBAH ALLAHÁBÁD OR PRÁG.

In this súbah were twelve sarkárs, two hundred and sixty-five maháls, yielding 99,90,418 rupees. It is

bounded on the east by Bihár; on the west by Akbarábád; on the north by Awadh; and on the south by Mándhwar. Its breadth from Jaunpur to the southern mountains is three hundred and twenty miles, and its length from the Jusa ferry two hundred and forty.

SÚBAH QANDHÁR.

To these add the súbah of Qandhár, which continued to be reckoned among the territorial possessions of the Delhi Emperor, although it was lost in the time of Jahángír. It contains three maháls, which yield 4,00,00,092 dáms, the equivalent of ten thousand tumáns, the coin current in that country.

Sháhjahán's expenditure, in addition to the pay of his army and the money stored in the treasury at Sháhjahánábád, which Alamgír spent in his expedition to the Dakhin, has been estimated at 16,85,00,000 rupees. The details of this vast sum were: presents to scions of the imperial family and other great princes and nobles, 14,00,00,000; public buildings and other public works throughout his dominions generally, 25,00,000 rupees: in Akbarábád 1,10,00,000 in addition to what he spent on the palace buildings, on the marble mósque, and on the Táj: on buildings in Sháhjahánábád, the fort and canal, 50,00,000: on the Jámi' Masjid, 10,00,000: on laying out gardens in Láhaur and the construction of the canal under 'Ali Mardán Khán's supervision, 50,00,000: and 40,00,000 on buildings in Kábul and elsewhere; and in addition to all this was the Peacock Throne, which is one of the wonders of the world.

As in the lapse of time precious stones of all kinds had accumulated in the imperial treasury, it occurred to Sháhjahán in the beginning of his reign that, inasmuch as the intention of these treasures was the adornment of the empire, he should utilize them so that the public should enjoy the contemplation of them and at the same time new lustre should be added to the emperor's surroundings. He therefore ordered that in addition to the jewels in the imperial treasury, others, such as rubies, sapphires, diamonds, pearls, and emeralds should be procured and submitted for his inspection. He selected precious stones to the value of 86,00,000 rupees and made them over to Behadal Khán, manager of the imperial goldsmiths' factory, and ordered him to make with 100,000 tolas of gold, which are equal to 250,000 misqáls or 14,00,000 rupees, a throne three and three-quarter yards long by two and a half yards wide and five yards high and stud it with those precious stones: and he was instructed that the interior of the roof should be chiefly enamel, and a small part set with stones, and the exterior should be completely covered with inlaid precious stones such as rubies and sapphires: and that it should be supported by twelve pillars set with emeralds, and on the top of it should be two figures of peacocks gazing on flowers made of precious stones: and between the two peacocks was to be a tree studded with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls, in the middle of the roof: and for mounting the throne he was to prepare a ladder of three steps inlaid with flashing jewels. In seven years was constructed this throne at a cost of 1,00,00,000 rupees, equal to 133,000 tumáns of 'Iráq or 40,000,000 khánís current in Transoxiana. Of the eleven inlaid panels

which were placed all round to keep the pillows from falling off, the middle panel, on which the emperor laid his hand when lowering himself to sit and lean on his pillows, cost 10,00,000 rupees. Among the precious stones which were set into that panel was one ruby in the centre, valued at 1,00,000 rupees, which Sháh 'Abbás, the Emperor of Persia, had sent as a present to Jahángír, who made a present of it to Sáhib-i-Qirán Sáni (Sháhjahán) after the conquest of the Dakhin by him, sending it to him through a learned man named Afzal Khán. It had been first engraved with the illustrious names of Qutbu'l-millat wa'ddín Sáhib-i-Qirán (Amír Taimúr) and Mírza Sháhrukh and Mírza Chirágh Beg. When it came after many years in the course of changes into the hands of Sháh 'Abbás, he had his name also inscribed on it: and when it passed to Jahángír he had his father's and his own name cut upon it. Now it is inscribed with the name of Sháhjahán, which gives it additional brilliancy. Round the throne was inscribed in enamel a masnavi by Háji Muhammad Khán Qudsi, the last couplet of which gives the date of its construction.*

The emperor led a prosperous and brilliant life until the 7th Zíhijh, 1067 A.H. [1657 A.D.], when he was attacked by a grave disease in Sháhjahánábád, his newly-built city. He sought relief in a change of air, and leaving the heir apparent, Dará Shikoh, in temporary charge at Delhi, he proceeded in a boat down the river to Ákbarábád. Although the best medical advice available was procured, it proved vain. At last he was obliged, in order to carry on the government, to comply with Dará Shikoh's request and place him on the throne.

* To translate this is unnecessary.

But that unforeseeing prince desired to possess the throne during his father's lifetime before it had come to him. He considered this contingency a providential aid to his ends, and outward appearances seemed to show everything in his favour, but, as the poet says:

To force the door of fortune will not yield :
Its key is in the sleeve of luck concealed.

After a short time, when he felt himself independent and free from restrictions, he closed up all avenues of correspondence, and directed that no one should issue a bulletin or forward any information as to the emperor's condition. He also imprisoned about fifty agents of the princes, his brothers, without any fault on their part, and looted the houses of many persons, rich and poor, who were considered favourable to those princes. In this way, utterly regardless of a supreme power, he quieted the misgivings of his own heart.

To smile upon a man when fortune faileth,
That very course he takes which naught availeth.

When correspondence with the imperial court was thus cut off, the three princes, who were at a great distance, continued for four months astonished and perplexed as to what this mystery portended, and how it would be solved. At last, unexpectedly and secretly, by underhand means, letters of their confidential agents were conveyed to them, which revealed the facts. Thereupon the three princes took it for granted that their father had died : if not, they had committed no open offence which could be construed into a cause for the imprisonment of their agents and the suspension of all correspondence. When each of the princes became fully convinced that Dará Shikoh himself was the cause of all this

irregularity, and had made it the means of establishing his own position, and had forbidden any tidings to be written of the real condition of the emperor, solely as a means of gaining his own ends, Sháh Shujá' first moved from Bengál, which he had for a long time regarded as his own separate feudal state. He had amassed its treasure and collected munitions of war; and now, taking with him a large army and elephants and nobles of name and fame, he marched in rebellion towards Western Hindústán. Then Sultán Murád Bakhs, who was in Gujrát, fearlessly assumed independent sovereignty. But Aurangzeb, who had wisdom, discretion, and natural dignity and stability, hesitated to take any steps without reliable information as to the real facts, and remained unmoved.

An account of Aurangzeb from his earliest days will now be given exactly as recorded in the 'Waqáya-i-'Álamgír by Muhammad Sálíh, the nephew of Munshi 'Ináyatu'llah, the author of 'Bahār-i-Dánish.' Letters of Sultán Murád Bakhs to Aurangzeb, and letters from Aurangzeb in reply, and letters bearing the emperor's signature addressed to Aurangzeb, and his replies, the originals of which have fallen into the author's hands, will be incorporated in the narrative.

The prince 'Álamgír was born on Sunday, the fifteenth of Ziqá'd, 1028 A.H. [1617 A.D.], at Dohadd in Gujrát, and Tálib Kalím wrote some mnemonic verses on the date of his birth, in the last line of which occur the words 'Áftáb-i-'Álamtáb', used of him as 'the world-warming sun', and they yield the year in which he was born.*

* The couplets in the original need not be translated.

He early exhibited a sharp intelligence and a royal manner, and high and low, great and small, as well as the courtiers and his relatives, foresaw that he would at some time attain the imperial dignity. One day Sháhjahán was sitting at a window of the palace in Akbarábád; and he ordered an elephant fight for his amusement.* Two great elephants twisted their python-like trunks together and dashed their heads one against another in rage, and produced resounding shocks. The collision of these massive monsters shook the earth and called to mind the verse of the Qurán in which occur the words: 'when with her earthquakes earth shall be shaken,' and twisting their trunks like long rolls of black cloud on the tops of mountains, they dashed their dome-like heads against one another. There was a noise more appalling than a cataract and more terrible than thunder, and it was feared that the blue vault of the ancient firmament might crack. One would think Alwand was falling on Alburz.† The princes, who were with all the interest of youth looking on at the spectacle, left their father at the window, mounted horses and went with the boldness of lions closer to the scene. Thus mounted, they got a near view of the struggling monsters. While the fight was still going on, the emperor also came down, mounted his horse, and stood in a corner of the arena; and out of respect for him and through the efforts of the mace-bearers the crowds moved away and the tumult was hushed. All was quiet and the field was cleared. By

* I abridge this narrative of the fight. It is a curious specimen of the vile accumulation of metaphor and conceits which passes with some writers for superior beauty in Persian composition.

† These are two mountains near Hamadán in Persia.

chance the two elephants parted for a moment, but, raging so fiercely that their eyes looked blood, they stood gazing at each other. Suddenly one of them uttered a loud screech and attacked Aurangzeb, who was then only a boy. Though the driver tried to restrain the beast, he refused to be controlled, and down he came upon the young prince in full fury. The crowd fled in terror and not an obstacle remained to check his advance. Facing the lion-hearted youth, he began to show his fury. The prince, notwithstanding his youth, was naturally so brave and fearless that he moved not a hair's breadth, but quite undaunted confronted the elephant like a Rustam or a Bahman. The shouts of the people on seeing this rent the air as though it were the resurrection of the dead. The prince struck his spurs into his horse and hurled a spear at the elephant's forehead with such force that the gleaming spearhead disappeared in his dusky forehead like a lightning flash in a dark cloud. At such an early age he performed an exploit before which the records of the heroism of Rustam and Isfandiyar seem but idle tales. The gigantic black beast, black devil it seemed, was still more infuriated by his wound, and such was his rage that his eyes seemed to drop blood. He became furious, rushed towards the prince and seized his horse with his trunk, threw him down, and prodded him with his tusks. The prince came into contact with the elephant and the tusks touched his body. The spectators shouted. The prince sprang quickly from his horse and, drawing his sword, attacked the elephant, which turned away and rushed towards the other elephant. This event happened on the 27th Ziq'a'd, 1040 A. H. [1631 A.D.], when the prince was only fifteen years old.

Among the campaigns conducted by Aurangzeb, was that in Balkh against 'Abdu'l'aziz Khán, the Governor of Turán, which occurred on the 9th Jamádi, ulawwal, 1057 A. H. [1647 A.D.]. An account of this as well as of the affair with the elephant is given in the histories of Sháhjahán. Tálib Kalím wrote a poem celebrating the elephant fight and the bravery of the prince.*

When Sháhjahán, owing to his great affection for Dára Shikoh, nominated him his successor, the latter grew proud and haughty, and when he had obtained the regency during his father's lifetime, fancying himself in secure possession of the throne, he sought by every possible means to ruin his brothers. Aurangzeb and the other princes, when they perceived his intentions, were on their guard and took precautions for their safety, and the preservation of their names and their property. Not feeling themselves safe from the venom of a powerful rival who had increased power and support, they took all possible precautions for their own protection and secretly prepared means for defeating his inimical intentions. They knew there was no time to be lost in forming plans to meet this difficult situation. Sháhjahán himself, foreseeing this contingency, had provided for the maintenance of peace between his powerful sons, and had given to each a separate government. He had given Bengál to Sháh Shujá'; the Dakhín and Barár and the dependent states to Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Álamgír; Gujrát to Murád Baksh; and the rest of his territorial possessions, which had been for generations past the centre of sovereignty for so many illustrious

* This is given in the original, but I omit it. It is long, tedious, and in English unpalatable.

emperors, to the recognized heir apparent. Dará Shikoh. In the year 1062 A. H. [1652 A.D.], when Sháh-jahán went to Kábul, he dismissed Aurangzeb and Sháh Shujá' to their provinces. Sultán Murád Baksh had some months previously gone to his government. When Sháh Shujá' and Aurangzeb returned from Kábul to Akbarábád they halted there for six days. Aurangzeb spent three days in Sháh Shujá's house, and they sought to form a permanent bond of friendship and affection by adding intermarriage to their already existing relationship. They betrothed Sháh Shujá's daughter to Sultán Muhammad, Aurangzeb's son, and Aurangzeb's daughter to Sultán Zainu'l'ábdín, Sháh Shujá's son. Sháh Shujá' and Aurangzeb consulted together as to how they should protect themselves. They knew that Dará Shikoh was bent on their destruction, and that they would be unable to cope with him when their father died and their brother succeeded to the empire. They deemed it most advisable to assume the appearance of friendship and concord with him, and to secretly combine to defeat his malice and break his power. They swore to their determination, and Sháh Shujá' left for Bengál and Aurangzeb went to the Dakhin. Here they treated their subjects with justice and surrounded themselves with all the circumstance and paraphernalia of sovereignty. After a short time Mír Jumla, the adviser and chief minister of Quṭbu'l-mulk Táná Sháh, being for some reason vexed with his master, fled to Aurangzeb for protection, and Aurangzeb informed the Emperor of the cause of his flight and desire for protection. The emperor Sháh-jahán ordered that Mír Jumla should be brought to him and be saved from falling into the hands of Quṭbu'l-mulk's agents. Aurang-

zeb then sent a farmán to Qutbu'lmuġk, to the effect that as Sultán Muhammad had been sent to Bengál and desired to pass through Orísa and go to see his uncle, it was proper he should receive him with due courtesy and render him assistance, and escort him safely to the confines of his territory. The foolish king, heedless of the real purport of this move, made great preparations to receive his guest. Meanwhile the young prince was despatched by Aurangzeb with all the munitions of war, and Aurangzeb followed him. When the prince had arrived near Bhágnagar, Qutbu'lmuġk's capital, Qutbu'lmuġk's eyes were opened to his intentions, and he was confounded. He fled from Bhágnagar to Haidarábád, taking with him all the treasure and jewels which his hurried flight would permit him to remove. His women fleeing bareheaded and barefooted, made their escape to the fort. The prince entered Bhágnagar and looted the factories and palaces, and valuable books, porcelain, plate, and innumerable other treasures fell into his hands. Aurangzeb followed, and all that was worth taking was confiscated. Yet so vast were Qutbu'lmuġk's treasures, that soon after Aurangzeb's departure the place assumed its wonted appearance of prosperity. By this expedition Aurangzeb acquired great wealth and resources. Mír Jumla was delivered from the trouble which threatened him and he remained with Aurangzeb and presented him with gifts of great value. Qutbu'lmuġk gave his daughter in marriage to Sultán Muhammad and thus effected a reconciliation. After this Aurangzeb turned homeward. Mír Jumla accompanied him to Aurangábád. Here Aurangzeb privately bound him to himself by oaths and promises, and sent him to Sháhjahánábád with great pomp and honour. Sa'dullah Khán, chief

minister of state had died, and the emperor appointed Mír Jumla, on his arrival at Sháhjahánábád, to the vacant office with the title of Mu'azzam Khán. As he had been born and bred in the Dakhin, he devoted himself specially to the affairs of that quarter, in accordance with his promise made to Aurangzeb, and never lost sight of his purpose. He presented some valuable gifts from the Dakhin to the emperor and expatiated on its wealth. He also represented that it could easily be conquered, and asked to have the conquest of it entrusted to him. He obtained the desired commission from the emperor, and his son Muhammad Amín Khán was appointed to act for him as minister during his absence. He was accompanied in his undertaking by Mahábat Khán, Ráo Sattarsál, Najábat Khán and others. They marched to Aurangábád where Aurangzeb welcomed them.

In a short time Aurangzeb, falling in with Mír Jumla's plans, marched to capture the territories held by 'Adil Sháh. He invested and soon captured Bidar and Kalyáni, two of the strongest forts in that country. He next prepared to take Gulbarga, a most densely populated and famous city, and as soon as reinforcements arrived, he commenced the siege. His troops began to close in round the city. At the same time there were reliefs brought to the enemy. Between these forces engagements ensued. The reinforcements for the garrison from without increased daily, while Aurangzeb's force redoubled their efforts to capture the fort and at the same time repel the reliefs coming from without. At this juncture the tidings of Sháhjahán's illness spread among Aurangzeb's troops, and also reached his enemies. The latter were only encouraged to greater boldness and determination. Two farmáns also arrived from the

emperor, dictated at the instance of Dará Shikoh, calling on Mahábat Khán to return with the Mughal troops and Sattarsál with the Rájputs, which had been sent under their command. They were to return without waiting for Aurangzeb's permission, and to leave none of the imperial servants behind them but bring all with them. These officers, deeming obedience to the imperial order a necessity, left without the permission of the prince, and that too at a time when the enemies were closing in on every side, and marched towards the seat of empire. The result was a weakening and a shaking of the prince's strength. Aurangzeb was, however, nothing daunted, but he resorted to expedients to conceal from the enemy the reduction of his force. He left a small body of troops in position ready for action, and himself made his way out. He marched to Aurangábád, where he heard on his arrival the startling news of the emperor's illness and events connected with it; the suspension of correspondence, and the imprisonment of the princes' agents and of súbahdárs; the advance of Sháh Shujá' to Patna; the march of Sulaimán Shikoh to meet him; and the encounter between the two armies, and the flight of Sháh Shujá'; and the assumption of sovereignty in Gujrát by Murád Bakhsh. He deemed it wiser, however, to be more fully informed before taking any decisive step; and he made inquiries regarding the emperor. At this moment he received intelligence that Mu'azzam Khán, like Mahábat Khán and Ráo Sattarsál, had gone away. When the emperor's farmáns, issued at Dará Shikoh's request, had reached them during the siege of Gulburga, although those two officers had left Aurangzeb at once, Mu'azzam Khán, who was a man of experience and expedients, would not desert

Aurangzeb, leaving him with a small force at the mercy of the Dakhinis. He therefore marched with him at a distance of two miles in his rear, but now that Aurangzeb was safe, he left him and set out for head-quarters. Aurangzeb had, however, great schemes, and he could not bear to see a man of wealth and influence and a leader of troops going over to Dará Shikoh. He therefore spread a net for Mu'azzam Khán. He sent a messenger after him to tell him that as he had always regarded him as a special and true friend, it was only proper that he should obtain his permission before leaving him. To this Mu'azzam Khán replied temporizingly that he was helpless and must obey the emperor's order as he was his servant. Aurangzeb now sent his own son, Sultán Muhammad Mu'azzam, to him and represented that, as he was going to court, there were some urgent affairs about which he wished to converse with him, and that, if he would return for a consultation, he would let him go in safety. Sultán Muhammad succeeded in quieting all Mu'azzam Khán's fears. He returned with the young prince. On his arrival he was immediately imprisoned, and all the treasures he had amassed during his lifetime were confiscated. Employment was given to all his servants. As Aurangzeb had not yet thrown off the mask, he sent a report to Delhi that he had imprisoned Mu'azzam Khán because he had suspicions of his fidelity; that if he had not done so, he would have certainly joined the Dakhin chiefs.

At the same time he heard that Qásim Khan had been appointed. Súbahdár of Gujrát and that Sultán Murád Bakhsh had been ordered to go to the Dakhin and reside in the province of Barár, which he was to hold from Aurangzeb as a jágir for his maintenance: also that Rájá

Jaswant Singh had been appointed to Málwah, with instructions to aid Qásim Khan in establishing himself in Gujrát, in case Murád Bakhsh should make any delay in surrendering that province, and to use all possible means to induce him to go to the Dakhin, after which he was to return to Ujjain and remain there. This was all an intrigue of Dárá Shikoh's, who saw certain advantages in this move. First, he deemed it injudicious that Khán Jahán Sháyista Khán, who was an intimate friend of Aurangzeb, should remain at Ujjain, which is close to the Dakhin, and therefore he recalled him; secondly, if Aurangzeb should march towards Akbarábád, he hoped that Qásim Khán and Jaswant Singh would combine to oppose his advance; thirdly, he hoped that, if Murád Bakhsh should attempt to move in that direction, they would similarly repel him and drive him from Gujrát to the Dakhin.

At this time, when disconcerting news and alarms of the approach of the imperial army were heard on every side, and rumours and whispers were floating about among artisans and the lower orders, and every prince was taking thought for himself, a correspondence was going on between Aurangzeb and Sultán Murád Bakhsh, who were in adjoining provinces, by means of special messengers.

"My dear brother,—Your letter is to hand, asking

Letter sent by Prince Murád Bakhsh from Gujrát, in reply to one which he received from Aurangzeb.

"me to state fully on what date and

"in what direction I propose to

"advance. Ever since I heard that

"the imperial troops had been des-

"patched against me, I have felt it supremely necessary

"to repel them, and until I shall have done so, I can

"think of nothing else.

"I have fixed three dates, the 5th and 11th of Jamádi, ulāwwal and the 2nd of Jamádi, ussāni for the return of confidential spies, whom I have sent to inquire regarding the strength of the coming enemy. I am only awaiting their return, and then, when I shall have obtained reliable information, I shall inform you of the exact date of my departure.

"It is not yet certain by which way it is intended that the invading army should enter Gujrát. If the whole army enter by Málwah, it is better for me to proceed to Dohadd, and, please God, when I pass that point, I shall crush the enemy. If you can manage to come up, it will be better still. We shall be able to close in upon the enemy from two sides, you on the one, as you come from Ujjain and Dohadd, and I on the other, as I come from here, and we shall smite them so that not a soul shall escape. If they enter Gujrát from Ajmír, I shall proceed to Dántiwára and wipe them out. If they enter from both directions, I shall engage the two forces successively as they enter. If they happen to enter Gujrát simultaneously from two points, I shall first dispose of the army that comes through Ajmír, and afterwards march to Dohadd. I have despatched some experienced and steady men to Dohadd, for, if things should happen as I have forecasted, they will be able to hold in play the force that enters on that side, by leading them about fruitlessly wandering in the mountains and jungles, while I am dealing with the army that enters from Ajmír. These are my plans, subject to such changes as the finger of God or the hand of fate may indicate. If the arrival of the enemy be delayed, I can join you and appear at any place which you name.

"You have stated in your letter, that there are two roads leading to Málwah, one through Súrat, crossing at Akbarpur, and the other from Mundpur, and you say I should advance by one of them. I do not know why you have chosen this long route, instead of that by Dohadd, which is the shortest and best. I hope you will kindly explain the reason.

"You have written that you are sure the Emperor is now perfectly well, and that he will, on receiving the news from Mu'azzam Khán, himself undoubtedly march to the Dakhin; but I fancy the emperor exists in name only now. Anyhow it is clear which way the wind blows, and there is no hope of peace. As our real object is to strengthen and establish the Muslim faith I believe that victory and the hosts of the Lord are with us as long as we remain united. Two united hearts can break mountains down.

"My dear brother,—Though the changes which have occurred at court and the maladministration which has ensued have long since left us no room to doubt that some calamity has happened, nothing definite is yet known. Still, this much is certain, as has been gleaned from the letters of merchants and from special couriers who had been sent to procure information, that, as the union of us three brothers would be a formidable instrument for Dará Shikoh's overthrow, especially if we two remain so close together, for we would make it impossible for him to hold the port of Súrat, he will try to keep his real objects secret and will resort to various expedients and tricks to separate us and possibly to snatch this súbah from me. For

Prince Murád
Bakhsh's second letter
to Aurangzeb.

"this purpose he will issue false farmáns and counter-
 "feit orders running in the emperor's name. Thus I
 "have to-day received intelligence that Dárá Shikoh has
 "written in the emperor's name to K̄halilullah K̄hán,
 "saying that he will give him the súbah of Ahmadábád
 "if he cares to have it; and that he will raise his pay and
 "give a step in rank to his sons, brothers, and nephews,
 "and send with him any imperial servants whom he may
 "choose to select; and that he will give him additional
 "support and assistance if required.

"As I have received this information, I am now ready,
 "the moment Dárá Shikoh shall have nominated and
 "sent any one to take this súbah, to anticipate him and
 "take whatever steps may be necessary on my part.
 "It will be better if you also move up in concert with
 "me. If you do not, I cannot delay.

"In addition to this, there is much that Dárá Shikoh
 "can do for himself by concealing the emperor's illness.
 "One thing is, he is certainly anxious to snatch Mongír
 "from our brother Sháh Shujá', Barár from you, and the
 "Málwah maháls from me, and to hold them himself.
 "He has issued, or will shortly issue, orders to this effect,
 "written by Nawáb Uliya and Ja'far K̄hán, falsely attri-
 "buted to the emperor. As Málwah is situated at
 "a distance from Ahmadábád, Dárá Shikoh is welcome to
 "take the jágírs situated in that territory, for I do not
 "consider it advisable to scatter my army and entangle
 "myself in trifles. But it is quite another matter, and
 "one not to be tolerated, that Dárá Shikoh should take
 "possession of Barár and Mongír, which belong to you
 "and Sháh Shujá'.

"Dearest brother, I have already stated in another

"letter that I had ascertained by letters received from
 "my agent at court, that Dárá Shikoh, though our
 "opponent, did not care or wish to quarrel openly with
 "his brothers at present, but that he wanted us to
 "acknowledge his superiority and act with humility and
 "submissiveness. I can no longer believe this, for he is
 "now openly against us and has despatched his elder
 "son with Rája Jai Singh and others in command of an
 "army of 20,000 cavalry towards Bengál, and his other
 "son with Mahárája Jaswant Singh towards the Dakhin,
 "and has told off Salábat Khán, Qásim Khán and others
 "to Ahmadábád. If this be true, it is advisable that we
 "should not allow the coming army to cross the fron-
 "tiers of our provinces; but we ought to advance, meet
 "them on their own ground, and give him a blow in the
 "teeth. I have turned against Dárá Shikoh and have
 "resolved to take this step. I have framed my measures
 "accordingly. I ask your opinion, as I look upon you
 "as my leader and adviser.

"Reliance must not now be placed on the letters of
 "agents at court, for they are really prisoners and not
 "free agents. It is better to act. May God prolong
 "the shadow of kindness you cast on me. Dated the
 "23rd Šafar in the 31st year of Sháhjahán's reign.

When Aurangzeb became aware of all that was
 passing, he felt he should no longer conceal his inten-
 tion: so he openly declared himself and unfolded his
 plans to his personal friends and supporters. He im-
 prisoned Sháh Nawáz Khán, son of Mírzá Rustam
 Safwi, whom he suspected to be opposed to his plans,
 and, having got everything ready for the march, he
 wrote to his brother Murád Bakhsh, instructing him

to abstain from an engagement with Rájá Jaswant Singh, who had an overpowering force, and to await his arrival. Murád Bakhsh remained for two or three days inactive and then marched towards Mándú, where he waited for Aurangzeb to come up. The rája, construing this pause into flight and a confession of inability to oppose him, reported the occurrence to the emperor in this light. When the emperor heard of it he felt assured that no resistance would be offered by Murád Bakhsh; and the cause of all this intrigue and treachery, Dárá Shikoh, was equally confident. Some nobles who were secretly favourable to Aurangzeb,* considering it advisable that they should procure the release of 'Ysá Beg, Aurangzeb's agent, who had been placed under surveillance, and send him to him to inform him of what was going on at court, now represented to Dárá Shikoh that, as Murád Bakhsh had thus shown his inability to render obstruction, and the loyal had become reassured, it would be prudent to send 'Ysá Beg, Aurangzeb's agent, to the Dakhin to assure him that his father, the emperor, was in good health, and thus drive from his mind any misapprehensions or fears he might have harboured, and lead him to abandon any improper intentions he might have formed. Dárá Shikoh, conceiving this advice to have been given in good faith in his own interests, addressed the emperor, who directed the release of 'Ysá Beg, and gave him a letter of good will written with his own hand. As all this time Aurangzeb was sending letters to court regularly, with baskets of grapes, no suspicions of his fidelity had arisen in the emperor's mind, and now no appre-

* Khakílullah Khán, &c.

hensions remained as to Murád Bakhsh. The emperor returned from Akbarábád to Sháhjahánábád.

‘Isá Beg hurried to Aurangzeb and informed him of the prostration of the emperor, his utter weakness, his inability to move or ride, and how the army had been despatched under Sulaimán Shikoh to the east, and the court was without able advisers and experienced leaders, and how Dará Shikoh had attained paramount influence. This had the effect of strengthening Aurangzeb’s determination. He gained over the emperor’s servants who were in that súbah by favours and promises, conferred on Najábat Khán, son of Sháhrukh Mírza, the title of Khán Khánán, and on his son that of Khán ‘Álam, and thus won the adherence of the army and its officers. He then marched from his capital with 50,000 veteran cavalry. He did not think it right to leave Murád Bakhsh, who was also of an ambitious and intriguing temperament, behind him, and therefore he determined to bring him on as his left wing. He wrote to him asking his assistance and offering terms. It was agreed that one-third of the plunder should go to Murád Bakhsh and two-thirds to Aurangzeb, and that on their possessing themselves of the empire, the Panjáb and Multán up to Thattha and Kashmír and Kábul, should belong to Murád Bakhsh and that he should be the king of those provinces, and should strike coin and have the khuṭba read in his own name. Murád Bakhsh was led away by these specious offers, cast in his lot with Aurangzeb, and marched from his residence. Aurangzeb, feeling assured on every side and placing his trust in the Almighty in accordance with the words “whosoever putteth his trust in Allah, He assisteth him,” marched on the 1st of Rajab, 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], from Búr-

hánpur in the direction of the imperial capital. When he had pitched his camp eight leagues from Ujjain, Murád Baksh came up from Gujrát to join him. Sultán Muḥammad went at Aurangzeb's desire to receive his uncle, and met him on Thursday, the 19th Rajab, in the thirty-second year of Sháhjahán's reign, 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], near the tank of Dípálpur. Next day Aurangzeb proceeded to meet his brother, but on his approach the latter moved out to receive him, and they met and embraced each other, and thence they marched together. When they had turned and come to Ujjain, where Rája Jaswant Singh and Qásim Khán were then located, Jaswant Singh became alarmed and disconcerted at their sudden approach, partly because he knew the intrepidity which had characterized Aurangzeb from childhood, and partly because he doubted how far he was justified in opposing a prince, and also he knew his inability to check him. Further, he dared not yield without some show of resistance, for he had been sent by the emperor to oppose the advance. On the whole, he felt compelled to fight and he prepared for battle. Aurangzeb wished to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and he sent a message to the rája, stating that his desire were merely an interview with the emperor, who was sick, and that it would be as well if the rája gave up the idea of resistance and paid him a visit; that he ought to abstain from an undertaking beyond his power and spare his own men. The rája replied that, as he had been appointed by the emperor for this purpose, he was helpless and could not but oppose him as best he could; that the only course was for the prince to return and not advance without the emperor's permission; if not he must be excused for opposing his advance.

Sent out by my imperial liege,
I have the lines of duty read ;
His mandate is that I no foe
Admit within his realms to tread :
My sovereign's will to me is law ;
I have no choice but sword to draw.

Aurangzeb disregarded this idle reply, and advanced. Jaswant Singh, who was inexperienced, placed his troops on an uneven ground, and, cutting a dam of the Narbada, flooded a piece of land about two hundred yards long, and made it a bed of mud. Next day, a Friday, in the year 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], he drew up his army in battle array on that rough ground, and sought an encounter. He placed Qásim Khan in the van with 10,000 cavalry, and Rája Ráe Singh on the right wing with 5,000, and Manuji on the left with 5,000. Jaswant Singh himself took the centre with 10,000 Rájputs. Aurangzeb disposed his forces as follows:—Sultán Muhammad on the right with 5,000 horse, supported by Khán Khánán; on the left Shekh Munír; Zu'lfaqár Khán in the van with 5,000. The force on the left was supported by Bahádur Khán and Islám Khán, while Mír Saiyad Quli Khán was placed with the artillery in front of Zu'lfaqár Khán and the van, and opened the battle with his guns. Aurangzeb himself occupied the centre with 7,000 picked cavalry. Murád Bakhs took up a separate position on the left. A general engagement ensued. The Rájputs charged the left wing of the prince's army, crying "Rám! Rám!" as they advanced, and here the fight raged fiercely. Saiyad Quli Khán was killed by a stray arrow, and the wing began to give way. Murád Bakhs came to the aid on one side, and on the other Najábat Khán attacked the Rájputs with arrows. The battle

lasted until midday, but the ground was against the imperial army, and they were without experienced leaders. This led to their defeat. Rájá Jaswant Singh was wounded but remained to encourage his men. Mukand Singh was killed, and nearly forty other Rájput chiefs and some thousands of the rank and file were killed and wounded. Qásim Khán was also wounded and his troops began to waver. Finally the imperial army fled and left Aurangzeb victorious. The victors pursued the routed army for six or seven miles. I have heard from veterans who were in this battle that it raged from sunrise to sunset; that Rájá Jaswant Singh leaped from the howdah on his elephant to the ground and shouted to his followers, "I cannot fly:" but his officers said: "It is no shame to fly from two princes whose ancestors yours have served, after a battle which will go down to posterity as unique." It was settled that he should fly along the front of the left wing of the Musalmán army, and he passed to the left without turning his back to the enemy. Aurangzeb's attention was called to his flight, but he bid them let him go, saying that, in the moment of victory, it was unbecoming him to entangle himself with those whose resources had been reduced. Aurangzeb advanced by successive marches and encamped on the banks of the Chambal, within two stages of the capital, Akbarábád, now called Agra.

We now return to the narrative of Muhammad Sálíh. He states that Aurangzeb remained for three days after this battle in Ujjain and on the fourth set out for Sháhjahánábád. In the meantime Sháh Beg and Rustam Beg, the imperial couriers, who had been despatched to bring the news of Jaswant Singh's successes, returned post haste and announced to the emperor in

Bilochpur that Aurangzeb had captured Ujjain. On hearing of this and of the defeat of Jaswant Singh and the advance of Aurangzeb, Dárá Shikoh was terrified, and at his request the emperor returned from Bilochpur to Akbarábád. Dárá Shikoh, though in a whirlpool of anxiety, endeavoured to repair this loss, and collected a large force to check his brother's advance: and setting out from Akbarábád on the 25th Sha'bán, 1068 A. H. [1658 A.D.], with 100,000 cavalry and some servants of the emperor's and followers of his own, and with abundant munitions of war, encamped on the north bank of the Chambal with the intention of opposing Aurangzeb's progress. He made entrenchments and mounted guns at every ford and path and closed all roads, but, as he was quite inexperienced in the tactics of war, his plans were ill devised.

It is stated in other historical works that Sháhjahán, when he saw the disagreements between his sons, advised Dárá Shikoh to abstain from an engagement with his brothers. He proposed to go out himself and pitch his tent in front of his sons, who were in doubt as to the state of his health, and give them an opportunity of interviewing him, and afterwards returning to their own provinces. But Dárá Shikoh, who was obstinate, foolish, and inexperienced, would not listen to this proposal, which emanated from Amíru'lumara, the eldest son of Ásaf Jáh, son of 'Itimádu'ddaulah, lately honoured with the title of Khán Kbánán. He feared that the emperor had some concealed motive in meeting the princes, and would not allow him to leave his retirement in the fort and appear in public, for all would then have their doubts as to the emperor's health removed. Though Sháhjahán was thus anxious to quell the rising storm, Dárá

Shikoh for various reasons prevented his interference. In the beginning of the emperor's illness he had become practically regent and had taken the control of all departments into his own hands, and the emperor had been as good as deposed. An anecdote will illustrate this. On a Friday after prayers, the emperor, leaning on his walking stick, went into the Mahtáb Bágh. He noticed a stone displaced from the border of a walk, and he told the gardener to replace it. He went home and on the next Friday he went into the garden again. He saw the stone as before, and he asked the gardener why this was so. The man replied : "The emperor's order has not been given for its replacement." The emperor bowed his head in thought and surprise, and remained silent. He saw he had lost his influence, but owing to his extreme affection for Dárá Shikoh, he took no notice of the reply but assented, and said : 'All right.' Dárá Shikoh thought that, if the emperor came out of the fort and met the other princes, there was no knowing, as the saying is, 'what way the camel would turn,' and possibly he might lose the power he had seized and again sink to a dependent position. Further, he feared that Aurangzeb, being his enemy, might influence the emperor against him by disclosures, and ruin his prospects. So, during his conversation with the emperor, he broke out with loud words, saying, 'How have these two boys, born only the other day, become so bold, that, though you are in good health, they feign ignorance of it, and presume to array themselves against you ? I shall go with a force and chastise them, so that hereafter the sons of kings may learn to abstain during their fathers' lives from such insolence and boldness. I shall string them both to one bow and bring them to your presence.'

The emperor remonstrated, but this was the only reply he could elicit, and he became silent.

When I had read this part of the narrative to Daráb Ali Khán, he remarked that if Sháhjahán had wished to act, he could have gone out of the fort, and Dará Shikoh could not have prevented him, or that he could have gone out after Dará Shikoh had left. Had he done so, all this bloodshed would have been prevented. I replied that, 'under circumstances like these, we are tools in the hands of Providence. It was preordained that blood should be shed; that the princes should be killed; that Sháhjahán after thirty-two years of uninterrupted prosperous rule should taste seven years of trouble in seclusion in his former capital: and I, who toil night and day, find that the opposite of what I desire happens, and what I do not desire comes to pass. Man proposes but God disposes.'

Dará Shikoh proceeded to the Chambal and strengthened his position with chained batteries extending twelve miles along its bank. Murád Bakhs and Aurangzeb, finding the passage secured against them, were in difficulties, when they unexpectedly received a private letter from Amíru'lumara Sháyista Khán, son of Ásaf Jáh, who had taken offence on account of some repugnant airs on Dará Shikoh's part. Ásaf Jáh had, at the time of his death, placed his son's hand in Aurangzeb's, and had charged him to assist and help him. On this account from the beginning of Sháhjahán's illness up to Aurangzeb's accession, he was the centre of loyalty to him and the medium of intelligence as to all transactions of court, and the cause of his advance from the Dakhin. The prime mover in all the events now narrated was Amíru'l-

umara. On receipt of this letter, Aurangzeb and Murád Bakhsh at once started for a place indicated in the letter, leaving their tents and heavy baggage behind. The local landholders, in accordance with Sháyista Khán's letter, showed a ford to Aurangzeb's army fourteen leagues up-stream to the west, below their village. They marched two days and two nights with these landowners as guides; crossed the Chambal at Bhadáwar, and, covering fifty miles at a stretch, they arrived within one league of Akbarábád and camped at Simugarh, an imperial hunting ground.

Here Muhammad Fárúq arrived with a letter from Jahánará Begam. This princess was endowed with high intelligence and had been from her early years the key to the doors of advice in the affairs of state. Sháh-jahán recognizing her wisdom and prudence, seldom did anything without consulting her. Her four brothers all regarded her as a mother, paid her great respect, and never disobeyed her. At Sháhjahán's suggestion she sent to Aurangzeb the following letter, which Muhammad Fárúq delivered.

"Thank God, the emperor is now quite well and able to attend to the affairs of his empire and subjects. It has always been his wish that none of his subjects should suffer any oppression or sustain any injury at any one's hands, least of all from his own sons: and he is now endeavouring to remedy the irregularities and to settle the disturbances and quarrels which arose during his late illness. He is anxious to quench the fires of jealousy and enmity, which can only cause depopulation of the country, ruin of his subjects, general troubles, and to him personal grief and pain.

"It is highly improper and unbecoming that one like you, my brother, wise and intelligent, endowed with a pacific nature and gentle character, should meditate any evil: and therefore, because of the mutual love that exists between you and me, I venture to write you these few words of advice, trusting that they may benefit you both here and hereafter, and hoping that they will remove all doubts and evil counsels from your mind.

"If you wish to kindle the flames of civil war, you should remember that you will incur the displeasure of God and His Prophet if you wage war against your father, and the result must be disaster to you. If you wish to fight with your elder brother, in that case also you are in the wrong, because both the rule of the Faith and the law of the land set your elder brother over you as if he were a father, and to rebel against him is to displease your father. You have always been anxious to please and obey your father, and you cannot consistently fight with your brother or excite war and bloodshed.

"Forbear! this not befits a noble heart."

"This is Ramzán and you should not perpetrate a wrong or shed blood in that sacred month, but should submit to the emperor's wishes, and thereby win the favour of God. If there is anything you want, halt where your tents are pitched and send me a letter. I will speak to the emperor and try to obtain your request."

When he had read the letter, Aurangzeb sent the following reply. Muhammad Fárúq had brought him

the letter when he was on the south of the Chambal, and the passage of the river had been very difficult. He therefore delayed sending the reply for two or three days, and sent it off with Muhammad Fârûq when he had crossed the river and arrived within two or three leagues of the fort of Akbarâbâd.

The substance of the first letter sent by Aurangzeb
Aurangzeb's first letter to Shâhjahân was this :—
ter to Shâhjahân.

“In these days all imperial affairs, both home and foreign, and all the business of the state and Government are no longer in the emperor's hands. His eldest son, Dârâ Shikoh, possesses complete control of every department and I cannot address him. Hence Dârâ Shikoh is doing his utmost to overthrow his brothers. He sent his elder son, Sulaimân Shikoh, with an army to attack Shâh Shujâ and thus lost the confidence he had enjoyed, his reputation of thirty-two years, and earned the contempt of his grandson Parwez. He is always bent on the destruction of his brothers and works against the Faith and public peace. He has shut the door of favour in my face and has adopted resolutions which must end in trouble and disappointment.

“When I was lately engaged with an army at Bijâpur and had captured some strong forts of the king of that country; while my army was actively engaged in encountering the enemy who had come up from all sides, the startling news of the emperor's illness spread through the army, causing universal dismay to us, but emboldening the enemy. My gallant soldiers, after capturing the forts of Bidar and Kalyâni, had laid close siege to the fort of Gulbarga; the garrison being reduced to the last strait were about to surrender the fort; the King of Bijâpur

"was contemplating the ransom of his dominion from the
 "grasp of my victorious troops, knowing that by ransom
 "alone he could avert his overthrow and the annexation
 "of his territory; and at that critical juncture Dárá Shi-
 "koh sent orders for the recall of the imperial nobles and
 "officers who were with my army, and at the same time
 "sent verbal messages of encouragement and reassurance
 "to the Bījápur ruler, who grew bold in his reliance on
 "Dárá Shikoh's sympathy. The nobles and officers were
 "recalled in so great haste that they did not wait to ask
 "my permission before retiring, but marched off at once.
 "I was left alone and unsupported, surprised and help-
 "less, plunged into difficulties when success was within
 "my reach. I have managed with skill and care to
 "come out of the enemy with my whole army and arrive
 "safely at my head-quarters. God forbid that the
 "imperial army should sustain any defeat at the hands
 "of an enemy. The disgrace would last for years to
 "come written on the pages of history.

"It is clear that to repair or compensate me for the
 "damage caused me by Dárá Shikoh's self-interest and
 "designing character is out of the emperor's power: but
 "as this devoted servant is well-experienced in the tactics
 "of war and understands the manners and habits of the
 "people of this country, he took no notice of the crow-
 "ing of the enemy, but bravely and confidently drew
 "all his forces out of the environment of the enemy.

"It is strange that Dárá Shikoh is not yet satisfied
 "and does not seem content with what he has done. He
 "further showed his enmity by removing the province of
 "Barár from my control without any fault on my part,
 "and entrusted it to a person who is not loyal to the em-

“peror, but creates disturbances and is in open rebellion. He misrepresented my conduct to the emperor, and sent Rájá Jaswant Singh to oppose me. His real object was on some pretence to deprive me of my small province, which the emperor so kindly conferred on me, and to reduce me to distress and poverty. He has such influence over the emperor’s heart that whatever plans he may propose for the destruction of his brothers, they are at once conceived to be right and proper and are accepted and approved without further question. He has thus made out the other sons of the emperor to be the emperor’s enemies. He holds everything in his own hands. The emperor takes no notice of his conduct, though he is bent on shedding the blood of innocent subjects of the empire.

“Seeing all this, with a view to save myself from his hands, I resolved to wait upon the emperor in person and represent the truth and explain facts to His Majesty. When I arrived with this intention at Ujjain, Jaswant Singh, who had been despatched by Dárá Shikoh, proceeded to check my advance. I sent some wise men to explain to him the real object of my journey—that I was merely going to see the emperor—but he turned a deaf ear to my words, and persisted in opposing me. I was compelled to thrust this ignorant and cruel man out of my way. I might obviously have captured Jaswant Singh when he was defeated and fled in confusion. Now, Dárá Shikoh has started with a large army to engage me and has arrived at Dhaulpur. He thinks he has closed all the roads and the fords of the Chambal against my army, and has set men to watch the approaches. I do not want to fight with him. I merely wish to see the emperor. I have safely

“crossed the river, and I wish to achieve my object. I am told that Dárá Shikoh has done his utmost to turn him against me, and prevent him according me an interview. He is resolved to do so, and has causelessly commenced a war with me. I see no advantage he can gain by opening a campaign with me. The emperor should therefore personally adopt such measures as will effectually check all disturbances. Dárá Shikoh should be sent to his own province, the Panjáb, for the present, and I should be permitted to attend upon the emperor. All sons should be treated with equal favour. There is no reason why one should be preferred above the others, kept always with his father, while his brothers are put aside. Time will reveal the features of the hidden future.”

Murád Bakhs̄h also sent a letter by Mubammad Fárúq, offering an explanation of his improprieties and couched in terms of submissiveness and regret. The princess and the emperor, notwithstanding that the princes as the brothers of the one, and the sons of the other, should have been equal in their eyes, had a strong predilection for Dárá Shikoh, for it is impossible to avoid having predilections, and, disregarding justice and moderation, they sided wholly with him. Aurangzeb, discovering this fact, had, from the beginning of his adult life, accepted the situation and contented himself with the revenues of his jágír. Sháhjahán often said that he saw none of his sons equal to the difficult task of maintaining the patrimony which Amír Taimúr Gorkáni had created; that his eldest son was an enemy of those who did well; that Sháh Shujá‘ was a sensualist; Murád Bakhs̄h a drunkard and glutton; and Aurangzeb given to intrigue and naturally distrustful. Dárá Shikoh was certainly

inclined to Sufism, and spent much of his time with ascetics, especially with Hindu monks and anchorites. He used to like to listen to their sayings, and was fond of inquiring into their methods and habits. For this reason the emperor and people had no confidence in his beliefs; yet his personal appearance and high bearing were in his favour, and every one, high and low, loved him, and soldiers and private citizens could not help liking him, and they desired his accession. The emperor himself and his courtiers knew, on the other hand, that Aurangzeb possessed administrative power and military experience, and that none of the other princes was his equal in these respects. But it was the intention of Providence that the emperor should suffer for seven years and some months the reverses of fortune, and that his cherished wishes should be frustrated.

The following is the letter addressed by Murád

Letter sent by Murád Bakhsh to Sháhjahán :—
Bakhsh to the emperor.

“ One of Your Majesty’s meanest servants begs to
 “ state with profound respect that the faults and mistakes
 “ which he has so shamefully committed are owing chiefly
 “ to the close of correspondence with the imperial court;
 “ to false rumours as to the state of the emperor’s health;
 “ and to the cruel behaviour of his eldest brother, Dárá
 “ Shikoh, who is compassing his ruin. Your servant was
 “ driven to take these steps to protect his name and
 “ honour from his brother’s hands. The crimes which he
 “ has committed against Your Majesty are so great and
 “ serious that he dare not ask for pardon, intercession, or
 “ mercy. He is so ashamed of himself that he has not
 “ dared to address or present himself before Your Majesty.

“Now, however, a letter sent by Nawáb Jahánará Begam, through Muhammad Fárúq, to Aurangzeb, shows that the doors of clemency and forgiveness have not yet been closed. They are still open to offenders. I therefore humbly prostrate myself before Your Majesty in sorrow and regret, and crave Your Majesty’s forgiveness of all my crimes. As God forgives men their sins, when they plead guilty before Him, may Your Majesty, who is the shadow of God on earth, pardon me. I have no help but Your Majesty, and I deeply repent my errors, and promise to abide by the orders which Your Majesty may be pleased to give regarding me. Long may the sun of Your Majesty’s royalty shine upon the earth. Dated the 9th Rabí’u’lawwal in the twenty-ninth year of Sháhjahán’s reign.”

After the letters had been despatched with Muhammad Fárúq, the princes advanced six miles from Simugarh, and encamped. Although Muhammad Fárúq had been able to cross the Chambal when Dará Shikoh had closed the fords, he was now detained by the princes for their replies until their forces had crossed at Bhadawar, in order that he might be able to tell Dará Shikoh and the emperor that the closing of the fords and the want of boats had been insufficient to stop their progress, and that in twenty-four hours eighty thousand cavalry with ammunition, guns, tents, and baggage, had crossed the Chambal with perfect ease and facility. Dará Shikoh, who was at Dhaulpur vainly beating the air in his endeavours to stop the passage of the Chambal, returned as soon as he received this information.

Some historians state that on the 7th Ramzán, 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], Dará Shikoh returned in perplexity;

that he had on his march out carelessly and thoughtlessly taken it for granted that the river was wholly impassable except where he had stopped its passage; and that, on subsequently hearing of the passage of the river by Aurangzeb and Murád Bakhsh, he was lost in consternation, so that he could not manage his troops, left most of his artillery behind, and was ill-provided with munitions of war when he met his brothers. He took up his position at a distance of about two English miles from Aurangzeb, and next day drew out his troops in expectation of an engagement: but Aurangzeb, as his troops had made a forced march, crossed the river without boats, and their baggage and tents had been wet, wished to give his men a rest, and for this or some other reason declined an engagement. He charged his soldiers to be ready for action on the following day, and encouraged them, calling on them to fall on the enemy with one heart and one mind and earn a lasting name for bravery:

Strive as becomes the brave to strive,
Brace heart and soul to face the fight:
If I shall win, this empire's mine,
And if I fall, 'tis Dará's right.

Dará Shikoh remained on the field from morning to sunset exposed to the fierce heat, awaiting an attack from the enemy. His soldiers were borne down by the weight of heavy mail and helmets, and his horses and elephants by armour-clothing. Both cavalry and infantry were all observing a fast. The scorching heat, added to this, fatigued them so that they were already broken without the attack of an enemy. Stranger than all, Dará Shikoh had his whole seraglio with him, mounted on elephants in the rear. In front was Aurangzeb's force

lying inactive, which, if he had attacked it, was unable to act, but he was so panic-stricken that he could only stand and wait. In the evening he returned helpless to his tents.

Some pages of a history written by Dárá Shikoh's private secretary have fallen into my hands. They are in his handwriting and contain a full and faithful narrative. He states that, on the retirement of the troops from the field they went each to his place to rest, but the same spiritless air still possessed them. Although that night, the 14th of Ramzán, there was full moon, every tent and horse-stall was illuminated with chandeliers and lanterns, lamps and candelabra, which outshone the moon, and all that money could procure was there, but not a man could converse calmly or collectedly. Each talked to the other aimlessly in whispers of regret: and this was their refrain—"Alas for all this pomp, splendour, glory, and grandeur on which we gaze! By this time to-morrow, God only knows where it will be gone and whether we shall ever meet again or not." And yet no misfortune had up to that moment befallen their leader.

When one watch of the night had passed, Dárá Shikoh left his seraglio and went to his audience-tent. Here he summoned all his advisers, courtiers, and the imperial officers of every degree, seated them as his guests and entertained them in a manner worthy of an emperor, but ate nothing himself, and he presented to them according to their rank his private swords, daggers, poniards, bows and quivers, and addressed them: "To-morrow we shall fight for a crown; brother will be arrayed against brother, and you must be of one heart and one soul and fight to the death." Fákhir Khán,

a native of Lucknow, rose from his seat and thrice professed his devotion, and most of those present responded as the occasion demanded. While this was going on, a eunuch arrived from the emperor with his sword and jewelled belt, and presented them to the prince, saying, "The emperor states that he has from his youth as a prince and up to now, the close of his imperial career, worn this sword in every battle, and it has brought him victory and success. Bind it to your waist in the coming battle." Dará Shikoh turned towards the fort and bowed himself to the ground and dismissed the messenger with a gift of two thousand rupees. In the same way all night long this messenger continued bringing to the prince one after another all the relics of former victories, such as flags, elephants which the emperor had ridden, and other mementos, and was on each occasion received with similar ceremony and dismissed with gifts. Aurangzeb and Murád Baksh were kept informed of all this by spies, and turning their eyes to heaven, exclaimed: "Mercy on us, how has the heart of our noble father become so estranged from us, innocent sons, that he thus openly shows his preference for his eldest son. "Our God is our help."

At sunrise next day, Sunday, the 14th of Ramzán, 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], Aurangzeb took the field with 40,000 horse. Dará Shikoh had finished his prayers and was reciting from the Qurán in his rosary-cell, when Pírangír Bairágí came and announced the moment auspicious for battle, and at the same moment a picket brought in word that Aurangzeb and Murád Baksh had mounted. Dará Shikoh mounted an elephant which was at hand and turned to the field.

Aurangzeb placed Murád Bakhsh with his army on the right, and his own son Sultán Muhammad on the left. He stationed Shekh Munír with 5,000 men on the extreme right wing and Bahádur Khán with 5,000 on the extreme left, as supports. The van was led by Zu'lfaqár Khán with 10,000, and Aurangzeb himself took the centre with 10,000 veterans. In front was the artillery.

Dará Shikoh, mounted on an elephant, directed the disposal of his troops. The right wing, about 15,000 men with all the mace-bearers and dignitaries of the empire, was under the command of Sultán Sipahr Shikoh and Rustam Khán. Khalílullah Khán, Qubád Khán, Táhir Khán, Diláwar Khán, and other officers, including Kunwar Rám Singh and his brother Kírat Singh occupied the left wing with 15,000 horse. The right flank was guarded by Fákhir Khán, and the left flank was supported by Ja'far Khán, each with 5,000 men. Ráo Sattarsál with Rám Singh, Rúp Singh, and Dá'úd Khán occupied the van with 8,000, and Dará Shikoh himself was in the centre with 12,000 trusted horse, his own troops. In front of his position was his artillery, about half what had been stationed at Dhaulpur to guard the river, but it was as much as he had found it possible to bring up with the carriage he possessed.

The battle raged continuously and without indication of either party giving way until late in the afternoon. Ráo Sattarsál, Dá'úd Khán, and Rúp Singh Ráthor, made a series of successive attacks on Murád Bakhsh and succeeded in routing his soldiers. Ráo Sattarsál and Rúp Singh then turning to the centre succeeded in penetrating to the elephant on which Aurangzeb was seated. Rustam Khán attacked the left

wing and shook Sultán Muhammad's position, but he was wounded by a musket ball in the fray. When he found that his wound was mortal, he dismounted from his elephant, and mounting a horse, hastened to send Sultán Muhammad to his father, Dárá Shikoh, and then with twelve determined men he charged Islám Khán and died. Islám Khán cut off his head and flung it under the feet of Aurangzeb's horse. Khalílullah Khán, who had a secret understanding with Aurangzeb, remained inactive with 15,000 horse. When Dárá Shikoh, against all rule, advanced to a position in front of his own artillery and disarranged his army, the two wings being engaged, there ensued a great mortality among the officers of his van and the appearance of affairs changed. Zu'lfakar Khán seized the opportunity and charged boldly into Dárá Shikoh's centre. In this charge Saif Khán was conspicuous for his gallantry. There were also many on Dárá Shikoh's side who died of heat and thirst. Thus in the middle of the fight, when it seemed that Dárá Shikoh was about to win, the day turned against him, and his troops fled. At evening victory had declared for Aurangzeb. What finally decided the issue was Dárá Shikoh's leaving his elephant and mounting a horse. At about half an hour before sunset he rode into Akbarábád with reins and stirrups broken.

Other writers tell the story thus: that the battle lasted until evening, when suddenly Khánzamán Bahádur Rustam Khán Dakhini, who was second in command of Dárá Shikoh's army, having forced his way close up to Aurangzeb, was blown to pieces by a cannon ball. This caused great trepidation throughout Dárá Shikoh's force. At last, acting on the advice of Khalílullah Khán, son of Mír Núrán, eldest son of Ni'amatullah

Khán, who was secretly in league with Aurangzeb, Dára Shikoh left his elephant and mounted a horse. His soldiers seeing the howdah empty gave way at one burst and fled, and Dára Shikoh himself leaving the field arrived at nightfall at the gate of the fort, worsted and broken.

Sháhjahán, distressed at the unexpected issue, sent Dára Shikoh on to Delhi, and, hoping to remedy the results of this untimely blow, sent after him one hundred camels laden with gold coin; but, to add to his ill-luck, they were plundered on the road. Some people attribute this robbery to Aurangzeb. When Dára Shikoh reached Sháhjahánábád, the governor of the city made over the treasures in the fort to him on an imperial farmán. When Dára Shikoh got this treasure, he again began to prepare for war, hoping by spending it to recover his lost opportunity.

We resume Muhammad Sálíh's narrative. After the

Other strange events
and correspondence be-
tween Sháhjahán and
Aurangzeb.

battle, Aurangzeb at once occupied the camp deserted by Dára Shikoh, and tents, baggage, and a vast quantity of plunder fell into the hands

of his soldiers. On that very day, first of all Fákhir Khán, who was one of Dára Shikoh's personal friends, and then Muhammad Amír, son of Mu'azzam Khán, and 'Itiqád Khán, son of Asaf 'Ali, known as Bahman Yár Khán, came from Akbarábád and waited on Aurangzeb, and congratulated him on his success. Next morning he marched on and encamped at the imperial hunting-box in 'Imádpur. Here Ja'far Khán, Fázil Khán Khánsámán, Faizullah Khán, Husen Beg, Rája Raghunáth Singh, Qásim Khán, Multafat Khán, son of

the deceased Asálat Khán, Názir Khán, and Khwája Islám Khán, better known by the name of Khidmatgár Khán, who were in the fort of Akbarábád, and all the other imperial servants of high and low degree, willingly or unwillingly, hastened to pay him court, and they were honoured by an increase of their salaries ranging from seventy-five to fifty per cent. On the third day after the battle Aurangzeb occupied the Dahrá Bágh, a garden near the fort laid out by Dahrará Begam and called after her.

At this time Sháhjahán was in the fort with 50,000 horse and some trusted nobles and heavy cannon, which had been on the bastions of the fort from the time of Akbar. Tradition runs that the calibre of these cannons was so large that men could sit in their mouths, and the charge was one hundredweight of powder, and they carried about fourteen miles. There were also other munitions of war and stores. But owing to his illness and weakness and to the recent shock of disappointment, the emperor's mind was upset. He sent a farmán in his own handwriting with Fázil Khán to Aurangzeb. This Fázil Khán is not Fázil Khán Khánsámán.

Abstract of the Emperor Sháhjahán's farmán which he sent by Fázil Khán to Aurangzeb after Dará Shikoh's defeat.

“As was the will of God, the strained relations which
 “existed between you and Dará Shikoh have ended in an open rupture.
 “The veil which covered the hidden
 “future has been withdrawn. But as
 “man cannot question the decrees
 “of the Almighty, I turn from them and address myself
 “to what can now alone afford my heart any solace. In
 “short, my heart is possessed by an extreme desire to see

“you, my intelligent and wise son, who are my very life
 “and soul. I cannot describe to you the joy I feel at
 “your being once more so near me after so long an
 “absence. I had in my late severe illness abandoned
 “all hope of ever seeing you again, but He whose word
 “says: ‘If thou art ill He shall surely make thee
 “well,’ has raised me up. My one desire is to see you
 “as soon as you can possibly come, and that you should
 “apply balm to my wounded heart.”

In some books the farmán which the emperor him-
 self wrote with his own pen is given
 the farmán. thus:—

“You have arrived near the capital and you have
 “been absent from me for a very long time. Now that
 “I have heard of your arrival, I am most impatient to
 “see you; but while I am so anxious to see you, your
 “delay in approaching me shows that your heart has
 “grown cold and you are devoid of affection and filial
 “love. It will give me pleasure and make me happy if
 “you will come to see me, your father, who have just
 “recovered from a severe illness and received a new
 “lease of life. I trust that when we meet all your
 “cherished wishes will be realized.”

Fázil Khán conveyed this farmán and delivered it
 with well-chosen expressions *apropos* of the occasion to
 Aurangzeb, who wrote a reply couched in terms of gra-
 titude and affection, reciprocating the wish of his father
 for an interview, and sent Fázil Khán back contented
 and delighted. The author of these memoirs has seen
 the original reply and inserts it here word for word; but
 there is a touch of reproach in its language.

“ With the most profound respect I beg to state that, Aurangzeb’s reply to Sháhjahán’s farmán. “ I am in receipt of Your Imperial Majesty’s farmán calling on me to “ present myself as soon as possible in your presence. “ I have deeply studied it and found its contents breathe “ kindness and tenderness. Each word is replete with “ advice and monition, and every phrase gives me new “ life. I have become overjoyed and my heart is satisfied. For your boundless kindness words fail me to “ express gratitude. ‘Perchance your kindness may “ draw me a few steps further on.’ Thank God that the “ sincere loyalty of my heart has made its impression on “ your mind, as is shown by the strength of your desire “ to see me. Now that it is no longer a matter of external favours and outward show of esteem, but you “ actually wish to embrace me, I begin to catch the “ scent of sincerity. I hope to be able to go and see “ you when a fitting opportunity presents itself. I am “ animated by a desire to see Your Majesty, but it would “ be shortsighted and impolite to write more upon this “ subject at present.”

The emperor on perusing this reply, was exceedingly pleased: but, after Fázil Khán had left Aurangzeb, some unprincipled and disloyal nobles, thinking more of their own temporary profit than of their master’s real interests, were so shortsighted as to excite in Aurangzeb’s mind distrust of his father’s intentions, and induce him to abandon the resolution he had taken of interviewing him. Next day, when the emperor sent a present of precious stones by Fázil Khán to Aurangzeb, he found the latter wholly changed. Although Fázil Khán did his utmost to induce him to keep his promise of the day before, his efforts were vain. At last he returned

grieved and disappointed and told the emperor, who again sent Fázil Khán with Khalílullah Khán to Aurangzeb. He sent with them a farmán of which the following is an abstract.

Abstract of Sháhjahán's second farmán, sent with Khalílullah Khán and Fázil Khán to Aurangzeb.

"I have many claims on you by the liberal education, the training, the kindness, the indulgences, and the uniform favour I have shown you, and by the high and honorable position and rank to which I have raised you; above all I am your father, and I am emperor, and both by the Law and the Word of God every one is bound to obey me. You are well-educated, a man of the world, and endowed with great natural sagacity. It is a manifest blunder for you to abandon your intended visit to me, when I am so anxious for an interview. It is only the ill-advice of some selfish, seditious, and designing men which can have led you to change your resolve. They are like smoke that enters the brain but to obscure the mind. You should not permit the instigations of wicked and designing men to make you view me as an enemy of yours, and you should not wish to see your own father disgraced or lowered in the eyes of the other kings of the earth. Consider what bad results would accrue. Do not for the sake of this temporary life commit in this world acts of which you will be ashamed when held to account before God and His Prophet. Perpetrate not here crimes which will end in eternal remorse and sorrow, for hereafter there is no room for repentance."

"My son, the path of disobedience shun:

"Draw not thy flashing sword, I am the Sun."*

* There are in all ten couplets, but they are not worth translating.

But the original, which the author has seen in the emperor's own hand-writing, is as follows :—

“ You have always up to the present acted according
 “ to my wishes and my will and have always striven to
 “ please me by good acts and virtuous conduct, and you
 “ have never consented to any undertaking against my
 “ desire. I cannot now discover any reasonable or pro-
 “ bable cause for all your late acts of disrespect, your want
 “ of affection to your father, and other offensive matters.
 “ As I had a strong hope that you would show sincere
 “ affection and faithful love for me by exhibiting your
 “ sympathy with me during my sickness by a visit to me,
 “ and that some signs of joy and regard should pass
 “ between us on meeting once more, it is to me very
 “ strange that you have treated me with much offensive
 “ coldness, when I cannot divine the cause. This may be
 “ entirely owing to the ill-advice of some enemies and
 “ wicked traitors who hope to serve their personal interests
 “ through you; but I sincerely hope that you will not give
 “ ear to their misrepresentations. Some evil-minded men
 “ may have suggested to you doubts of the sincerity of my
 “ regard and of the truth of my affection; but I have never
 “ entertained one bad thought against you. It is easy for
 “ you to come over to see me and satisfy yourself by any
 “ reasonable and proper means and remove all doubt
 “ from your mind. Why delay? Why consider me your
 “ enemy? By coming you will have all your doubts
 “ removed when we speak to one another, and you will
 “ understand my real designs, which have been misrepre-
 “ sented to you, and thus all misunderstandings will be
 “ removed.”

When these two Kháns arrived at the door of

Aurangzeb's tent, Khālilullah Khān, who was secretly favourable to Aurangzeb, was called in to deliver the message, while Fāzil Khān was allowed to remain outside on account of his sterling loyalty to the emperor. Khālilullah Khān advised Aurangzeb not to listen to the emperor or agree to see him. Aurangzeb accordingly wrote the following reply: "I do not feel secure against ill-treatment from Your Majesty. I fear that were I permitted to wait upon you, Your Majesty's attendants would make an attempt on my life." Then he detained Khālilullah Khān by his own advice as a prisoner on parole, and sent this reply with Fāzil Khān, who hastened to the emperor and informed him of all that had happened. Shāhjahān now gave up all hopes of a reconciliation and ordered the fort to be put in order for a siege.

Some of the emperor's followers, who were truly loyal to him, were detached to guard the gates of the fort. When the news of this reached Aurangzeb, Zu'ltaqār Khān and Dá'ūd Khān proceeded with a force by night, and took up a position below the walls, and laid siege to the fort. There was no prospect of an immediate reduction of the fort because it was strongly fortified. There was a desultory fight maintained between the garrison and some besiegers, who were covered by walls and trees. The officers commanding the musketeers within the fort gallantly repelled every approach; but many nobles, who were cowards and unable to bear the fatigue of a siege, went out on the first day on the pretence of looking after the water-carriers who were employed to carry

Fight between Aurangzeb and the emperor and the victory of the prince owing to his cutting off the water-supply, which water-carriers used to bring from the Jamna through a gate into the fort.

water into the fort from the river by a small gate, and basely forgot the claims which long years of service and patronage had given the emperor on them. On the second day Aurangzeb's soldiers, knowing that the fort was safe against mines, advanced with danger to themselves and closed the Khizri gate. The water-supply of the fort was thus cut off, and the besieged were reduced to extremities. Sháhjahán on discovering this, sent Fázil Khán once more with a farmán in his own handwriting to Aurangzeb.

"May the Lord and Master of all, whose sovereignty

Abstract of the farmán sent on the third occasion by Sháhjahán to Aurangzeb.

"is beyond dispute, and whose domi-

"nion is beyond decay, brighten the

"star of my victorious son. Owing

"to misfortune and my evil star I have

"lived to see a change more shameful than my fancy had

"ever imagined. You, my fortunate and victorious son,

"have cut all the cords of affection, parental love, and

"parental rights; you have shut your eyes to my fondest

"wishes, and you treat me as an open enemy. You think

"little of this and you forget the day of account. I

"do not know what answer you will be able to give to

"God for all your wicked deeds when He sits in judgment

"on you. Rely not on, boast not of, success; and be not

"proud of this victory, for this world is not reliable :

"this unfaithful world, which has not fulfilled many pro-

"mises, will not remain true to you. It is incumbent on

"you to refrain from courses which will create disorders

"and disturbances, and rather to try to maintain the

"honor of the empire as did our forefathers, whose

"names now live and whom as examples all kings now

"follow. Act as becomes and is expected of a wise and

"able son, and so shall your name and fame abide."

The original farmán, which was in the emperor's own hand-writing, ran as follows:—

“God is alone and only great,

“And by His sufferance monarchs reign:

“If He of conquest lock the gate,

“The strongest arm may knock in vain.

“Love not this weary world of woe,

“But make the future life thy quest:

“This world the sons of wisdom know

“Doth on unstable water rest.”

“May all your designs and wishes be fulfilled. I have sustained a severe reverse, and troubles and disappointments continue to crowd upon me. Fortune has turned her face from me, and every effort of mine proves unsuccessful. I cannot tell you all my sorrows, miseries, and hardships. They make no impression upon your cruel and merciless heart.

“During the past years of my reign, I have never experienced any disgrace, and have never suffered by want of respect on your part, and you have not ever done any act against the will or pleasure of your father. Now, as God has willed it, I have surrendered all hopes of sovereignty in this world, and have turned my heart to the world to come. In my seclusion, I have come to know the vicissitudes of this life, and I have devoted myself to the service of my Almighty Creator. He has withdrawn from my hands the imperial power which belongs of right to Him, and now He can pass to another the government and administration of His people which once were vested in me. No one can question Him. But why do you persist in losing your honor and disgracing me on the advice of designing self-seekers? This world which is to the outward eye so

“fair is in reality a ruin : its glories are like a dream or
“the mirage which betrays all travellers who gaze on it.
“Remember what evil your father has patiently endured
“at the hands of these bad men. If you have the smallest
“spark of wisdom, you will reflect that God, Who takes
“account of each man’s every act, will punish man and
“avenge Himself on him for his evil-deeds.

“Remember now the days when thou wast but a seed
“in the womb, and when thou becamest a sucking infant.

“Remember thou the many years until thou didst
“attain the age of understanding, thy stature tall like
“the cypress, and thy cheeks like the jasmine.

“And likewise the years until thou becamest a man
“and famous, a horseman in the field and a soldier tried
“in battle.

“Consider that whatsoever thine eye hath seen hath
“remained as it was; and that which thine eye shall
“behold will not continue for long.

“And thank thou now thy Creator, or ever the days
“draw nigh and thy turn cometh when the reins of will
“shall drop out of thy fingers, for the Lord loveth a
“servant who acknowledgeth Him.

“Make thy peace with the Giver of all good, that He
“may prosper thee in all thy works.*

“It is the way of this world that it turns all pleasure,
“rest and prosperity into pain, unrest, and poverty, and
“separates those who are united : but no calamity that
“overtakes me will ever confound me. I trust that you

* These are verses from a Persian poet, but I have translated them in prose as they resemble the diction of Scripture.

“will ponder my words and not be exalted by your present
 “successes, which mean nothing; but consider the result
 “of every action, rule your conduct by the word of God
 “and His Prophet, and endeavour to obey and submit to
 “your father. If you do, God will reward you, and the
 “public be grateful to you for your good conduct.”

Mulla Muhammad Sálíh, the author of the ‘Sháhja-
 hánnáma,’ has taken down from
 Aurangzeb’s answer. Aurangzeb’s lips the following ver-
 sion of the reply which the latter sent to this farmán.

“I have perused the contents of Your Majesty’s kind
 “farmán, and with profound respect I beg to reply as
 “follows :—

“Thanks be to God that, from my boyhood up to the
 “present, I have never failed to be sincerely faithful and
 “loyal to Your Imperial Majesty; I have always striven
 “to gain Your Majesty’s favour and give satisfaction; I
 “have never deviated from the straight path of service
 “and fidelity; I have not hesitated even to risk my life in
 “your service; and I have not the slightest wish to raise
 “opposition to you. I am still as firm and resolute in my
 “loyalty and devotion as ever I have been. But, owing
 “to the late unfortunate episode which God ordained
 “to be, I have become so beset by fears and suspicions
 “that I have not had the courage to go to Your
 “Majesty. I have thought my life in danger. Yet words
 “fail me to express my love for you, the strong desire I
 “feel to see you, and the thankfulness I feel to God for
 “your kindness. If Your Majesty will be pleased to
 “order my followers to be posted instead of the imperial
 “troops on guard within the fort, and to direct that they
 “be permitted to carry out all the imperial orders and

“watch the gates, I shall be freed of all my doubts and
 “suspensions, and I will come fearlessly to wait upon
 “Your Majesty and beg for pardon.”

The original reply has reached me through another
 The reply in original source and I insert it here. It is in
 nal. Aurangzeb's own hand-writing.

“I am in receipt of Your Majesty's letter, which is
 “replete with advice and admonition, and I have given it
 “a careful perusal. I thank God for all the favours and
 “the kindness which I have enjoyed. Since I entered
 “on manhood I have seen many changes and revolutions,
 “and I have thus gathered great experience of the
 “world. Hence I place no reliance on the temporary
 “successes and glory of this world. I am not rebellious,
 “and have never entertained any ideas of revolt against,
 “or disloyalty to, Your Majesty; but I have always
 “acted in conformity with Your Majesty's orders, and I
 “am still Your Majesty's devoted and faithful subject.

“Your Majesty has complained of the ways of for-
 “tune and the vicissitudes of life, but this is not the place
 “for me to refer to this subject. With the utmost respect
 “for Your Majesty, I beg to say that in the divine order
 “of things there are many arrangements which lie beyond
 “the understanding of man, and the wise should regard
 “all the acts of God as pregnant with good and not blame
 “His works. They should accept and submit to His
 “decrees without question.

“The chief object I have in the above remark is to
 “suggest to you some reflections as to the circumstances
 “in which I am placed with respect to the matters to
 “which you have referred. If you will not judge of my
 “conduct merely by outward appearances, but closely

“examine the springs of action, you will find my actions
“and conduct based upon sincerity and faithfulness to you,
“and prompted by a feeling of loyalty and honesty, and
“that they are in accord with Your Majesty’s disposition.
“I trust that all this will become clear to your mind
“hereafter. How foolish and ill-starred is he who, in the
“face of so much affection and kindness, does not feel
“duly grateful to his father, but disobeys and disregards
“him, acts against his will and pleasure! I have always
“been submissive to you, have never intended to vex or
“annoy Your Majesty, and my heart is all sincerity and
“affection. I do not wish to lay any obligation on Your
“Majesty for my good services, but, notwithstanding the
“opposition of my elder brother, I have grown more
“loyal, and up to this moment my conduct has been more
“proper than that of any of my brothers. All round,
“as far as this goes, I owe neither gratitude nor apology.

“‘Perchance your kindness may draw me yet a little
“further’. I had determined to go at once to see you
“when I received this farmán, but was again overcome
“by fears and suspicions which prevented my moving.
“If Your Majesty will be kind enough to order that all
“the gates and the external and internal passages of the
“fort be made over to and watched by my servants, I
“shall at once discard all doubts and fears, and imme-
“diately present myself to ask pardon for all my mis-
“takes and faults, and I shall do whatever Your Majes-
“ty desires. I shall never permit any act to be done
“which would bring Your Majesty into contempt.”

• Sháhjahán had now reigned for thirty-one years, with
grandeur and prestige, and was regarded as a model by
all the kings of the earth. From the earliest years of

discretion to the time of his deposition, no word or expression had escaped his lips which was not marked by soundness, solidity, and good sense. In the administration of justice, the acquisition of territory, the selection of men of ability of every country, the regulation of his own affairs, in his address, and in everything that becomes a sovereign, he had never committed one error. On this point all historians are agreed. But on this occasion, when fortune had forsaken him and declared herself opposed to him, notwithstanding all his sagacity, firmness, stability, patience, and forbearance, he was so carried away by his strong love of Dára Shikoh, that he took no warning by the occurrences of each day and hour, the frustration of his judicious plans, and the faithlessness of his friends and followers, and persisted in the pursuit of an impossibility. First, the imprisonment of the agents of his sons and the restriction of their communication with the court without any fault on their part; second, the recall of Mu'azzam Khán, Najábat Khán, and Ráo Sattarsál from Bījápúr at a critical moment; third, the removal of Murád Baksh from Gujrát and the placing of him in the Súbah of Barár; fourth, the sending of Qásim Khán and Rája Jaswant Singh, and the forbidding the two princes to cross the Narbada; fifth, the opposition made by Dára Shikoh at Dhaulpur and the closing of the fords of the Chambal without any cause, and the success of Aurangzeb in the face of every obstacle: at the same time, the strange fact being that on each side were his own sons, and the greatest asperity and injustice on the part of the eldest son, Dára Shikoh, that he should on the eve of the battle send all his relics, his sword, dagger and belt, his flags and his elephant, which had always been with him in every battle and

associated with victory, fancying that they would surely bring him success, while all the time Aurangzeb was informed of this, and appealing to Heaven against his father's unfairness ; again, after the battle, his sending Dárá Shikoh to Sháhjahanábád, and remitting him a hundred camel-loads of gold coins, and instructing the commander of the fort to give him the treasures, old and new ; and in the face of these acts openly done every day, his inconsistency in sending farmáns in his own hand-writing to Aurangzeb, expressing a desire to meet him, and complaining of his indifference and disregard of the claims of a father and a sovereign ; and while he perceived him utterly regardless of these appeals, the entreaties sent time after time to him to come within the fort : to what can all this be attributed but the decline of his faculties ?

If, when Aurangzeb had crossed the Chambal, or after the defeat of Dárá Shikoh, before everything had come to light, Sháhjahán had gone out from the fort, it is certain that Aurangzeb and Murád Bakhs would have run to meet him and have carried him to their tents, and all misgivings would have been allayed. One hundred and sixty-four years have now elapsed, and authors who are unacquainted with history have heaped opprobrium on Aurangzeb for his conduct to his father ; but, as long as Sháhjahán had any power, he ceased not to aim at the capture and ruin of Aurangzeb, as will be fully apparent hereafter. As a general rule, there is love and friendship between father and son, brother and brother, daughter and mother, relative and relative, as long as money and power are not in question ; but once money and power have come between them, love and friendship have never been seen or heard to abide.

Take, for instance, the Prophet himself. Notwithstanding the daily intimacy existing between his followers and the instructions and benefits they had received from him, what occurred after his death? Up to this day there is still controversy between Shí'a and Sunni regarding the Khaláfat, the garden of Fidak, the murder of the third Khalífa, the battles of Jumal and Sifin, and the mártýrdom of the Prince of Martyrs, after he had renounced the world. If nearness to God is desired, the knowledge of the means is intuitive. There is no dispute save for worldly estate. When such is the case among the chosen people of God, what can be said against Aurangzeb?

After the passing of all these farmáns and replies and verbal messages, Sháhjahán at last, yielding to necessity and against his own will, ordered that his followers should leave the fort and the gates be opened to receive Aurangzeb's officers. Although this was impolitic, they left the fort and opened the gates. Sultán Muhammad, Zu'lfagár Khán, Shekh Mír, Bahádur Khán, and Islám Khán entered the fort on Friday, the 15th of Ramzán, took possession of the passages and bastions, and stationed their own men on guard. Sultán Muhammad, attended by Islám Khán, waited on Sháhjahán and was received by him. The emperor gave him a jewelled dagger.

Next day the emperor sent Jahánará Begam to visit Aurangzeb. When her arrival was announced he would not go out to receive her or show her any marks of courtesy, for he knew that she and the emperor and Dára Shikoh were leagued together, and that everything which was being

done to ruin him and his brothers was the combined counsel of those three. She was in fact the keenest partisan of his eldest brother. For this reason he did not care how he received her. When she came near, he ordered her to be shown into the harem. He went in and received her there with apparent courtesy. She proceeded to deliver her father's message. She first dwelt upon the regard he had for him, and then, gradually unfolding the real object of her visit, went on to say that the real wish of the emperor was to give the Panjáb and its dependencies, meaning thereby Láhaur, Pesháwar, Multán, Kábul and Kashmír, to Dárá Shikoh: Gujrát to Murád Bakhsh as before: Bengál to Sháh Shujá'; the Dakhin, with the title of Buland Iqbál, to him (Aurangzeb), and also all the other provinces except those already allotted. She continued: "It is better for you to accept these proposals and listen to your father, shut your ears to the evil counsels of designing men, and come to see him." Aurangzeb declined to accede, and dwelt on the enmity and jealousy of Dárá Shikoh, and said that until affairs had been settled with Dárá Shikoh he could not consent to see his father, and his mind was full of apprehensions. "If," said he, "my father had such a keen desire to see me, why did he not send for me during his illness? Why did he forbid me to cross the Narbada and send a large army to check me? Though I represented matters as strongly as I could in a reasonable letter to that unreasonable Káfir* he would not listen. It was incumbent on a father's love that this should not have happened." By citing instances such as these of the harshness of his

* Dárá Shikoh.

father, he justified his own distrust of him, and the specious speeches of his sister had no effect whatever upon him. She now returned mortified and disappointed to the emperor and told him all that had occurred. He became unutterably sad and unable to utter a word.*

Here it may well be remarked that, from the beginning of these disturbances, it was apparent that the emperor had not a particle of affection for any of his sons but Dárá Shikoh; and now when Aurangzeb had defeated Jaswant Singh and crossed the Narbada, and had routed his elder brother and gained possession of the fort of Akbarábád, and all the nobles of every degree, whether siding before with Dárá Shikoh or with the emperor, had gone over to Aurangzeb, and only the name of emperor remained to his father, what reason was there that he should accept the proposed distribution of the empire and thereby endanger his own position? The reiterated summonses and professions of love which marked every farmán and message were only the cause of alarm and misgivings.

At last on the third day, after much debate, Aurangzeb made up his mind to wait in person on his father, and actually set out from the Dahra Bágh with this intention. As he was leaving, Sháyista Khán Amíru'lumara and Shekh Mír came up from behind him and urged upon him that his proposed visit was unadvisable; that, when he had got possession of the fort and held the reins of government, and the imperial servants were submissive to him, and the emperor had no power left, it was foolish

* This translation is thus worded so as to reproduce a verbal conceit in the original.

to go to a place where mischief and malevolence lurked. Doubt seized him and he turned back. At this point, when reading the narrative on one occasion to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, I ventured to suggest that when the fort had been surrendered to Aurangzeb, and Sultán Muhammad and other officers held it, and not a male attendant of the emperor's remained with him, there was no reason why Sháyista Khán and Shekh Mír should dissuade Aurangzeb from his intention. The late Saiyad Muhammad 'Ali, one of Khálílullah Khán's descendants, a sagacious man and a trusty friend of the Bahu Begam's, was present. He had heard the narrative as handed down in his family, and he replied that he had heard from his father, and he from his father-in-law, Nawáb Yúsuf Khán, that it was true that there was apparently no retainer of the emperor's in the fort, but, as his heart was set on Dára Shikoh, all these manœuvres were merely a trap. Sháhjahán never had any other intention but to imprison Aurangzeb. He had about two hundred Calmuck and Georgian women, powerful as men, lying hidden near him and armed, ready to seize Aurangzeb the moment he entered the imperial presence.

Saiyad Muhammad 'Ali gave an illustration of the strength of these women. He said that Nawáb Safdar Jang had two Calmuck women in his house in Sháhjahánábád, whom he employed as attendants on Sadr-u'n-nisa Begam. After the murder of Nawáb Jáwed Khán, when those differences arose between Nawáb Safdar Jang and Ahmad Sháh which resulted in open strife, Shujá'u'ddaulah was twenty years of age, and so powerful that he could easily catch a large deer by the horns and pulling them apart rend the skull in two ; and to tear a shield in two pieces was to him as easy

as to tear the wings of a fly. When the quarrel with 'Amád'ulmulk had only begun, and things had not yet come to an open rupture, but there was still a semblance of deference to the emperor, Shujá'u'ddaulah, seizing his sword and shield, rushed from the harem to attack the emperor's followers. The Begam forbid him, but it was no use. She ordered one of the Calmuck women who was with her to seize him. She sprang at once and caught him by the right hand. Though he made every effort he could not move a step. When this was so, clearly two hundred such women were equal to a thousand Hindústánis : and the story of Náhardil, an imperial slave, proves Sháhjahán's intentions.

Náhardil, a slave of the emperor's, was a Negro, naturally very swift of foot, and so enduring that, if he rode two hundred miles on horseback, he felt not the slightest weariness or fatigue. On the night before the day on which Aurangzeb had made up his mind to visit his father, Sháhjahán wrote a farmán with his own hand to Dárá Shikoh and gave it in extreme confidence to Náhardil, and, warning him to let no one know, ordered him to ride in haste to Sháhjahánábád, deliver the farmán to Dárá Shikoh and return with an answer. The purport of the document was that Dárá Shikoh should keep his army at Sháhjahánábád and not stir from there, "for," said the emperor, "I am myself solving the difficulty here." They say that Náhardil, when he left the emperor, went to his house, and, having got ready for the journey, asked his wife for something to eat. She told him to wait a moment, and while waiting he fell asleep and slept till morning. As he had told none of his family of his mission, none of

them woke him. Next day he awoke when the sun was up, and was so vexed with himself that he hurried out without washing hands or face. Although his wife called to him that his food was ready, he would not listen. At the time that Aurangzeb was talking with Shekh Mír and Sháyista Khán, Náhardil was hastening on his way to Sháhjahánábád, and coming suddenly face to face with Aurangzeb, he handed him the farmán intended for Dárá Shikoh. Aurangzeb could only give vent to exclamations on receiving this confirmation of the warnings of his advisers. He was intensely enraged at the favour both open and secret shown by the emperor to Dárá Shikoh, and he gave up his design of visiting his father, and went from before the fort to Dárá Shikoh's residence, while Sultán Muhammad by his orders attached and placed under seal all the imperial storehouses containing cash and buried treasure, jewelled goods, and precious stones. Sháhjahán was now deprived of all power and could not leave the seraglio, and the date of his seclusion is the 21st of Ramzán, 1068 A. H. [1658 A.D.].

When Aurangzeb had thus confined the emperor and

Aurangzeb sets out towards the Panjáb to overthrow Dárá Shikoh, and makes Murád Baksh a prisoner.

taken possession of the fort of Akbarábád, and the imperial commissariat and storehouses, he deemed it advisable to break the power of

Dárá Shikoh, who was at Sháhjahánábád trying to rally his dispersed army. He remained one day in Dárá Shikoh's residence at Akbarábád and arranged for the government of that súbah. He appointed Zu'lfagár Khán to command the fort and guard the emperor, and made Islám Khán Súbahdár. He also left Sultán Muhammad with them to make his position the more

assured, and assigned him Dará Shikoh's quarters to reside in. On Monday, the 22nd, he marched from Akbarábád for Sháhjahánábád, and his first halt was at the emperor's buildings at the imperial ferry. Here he was informed that Murád Bakhs had not left Akbarábád and had declined to join him, and that Ibráhím Khán, son of 'Ali Mardán Khán, Amíru'lumara, and other officers of the emperor's court, had taken service with him, and that he had raised their rank and increased their pay, and that he was receiving all who came to him, and that he had managed to raise nearly 60,000 horse, and that time-serving soldiers were lagging behind on the march and deserting to him. Aurangzeb then sent a messenger to Murád Bakhs, who represented in reply that he was in want of money and that his soldiers were out of heart. So Aurangzeb sent him two millions of rupees, and told him to spend this on his own necessities and in paying his soldiers, and that, as he had promised him one-third of the plunder, more would follow, and that, after disposing of Dará Shikoh, he would assign him the Panjáb, Kábul, and Kashmír. He called on him, therefore, to come up and join him. Murád Bakhs now marched from Akbarábád, and camped two miles in the rear of his brother. Aurangzeb marched on and Murád Bakhs continued to follow at the same distance. When they reached Mathura they camped together, but Murád Bakhs kept aloof from his brother. Aurangzeb's advisers now represented to him that at this time, when unity and harmony were essential, it seemed that Murád Bakhs was not in accord with him, or he would have visited him. They recommended that he should be placed in confinement to prevent future discord.

As all opinions were agreed on this point and success had intoxicated Aurangzeb, he adopted a device, and gained over by tricks and promises some of his brother's friends and attendants, and then on pretence of holding a council invited him to come to him. Murád Bakhsh, following the advice of his well-wishers, made some excuse and avoided the interview. Aurangzeb halted at Mathura, and making professions of affection, coaxed and pressed him to meet him, and urged the necessity of consultation about affairs of state. Sultán Murád Bakhsh was on the point of riding over to his brother, when his loyal friends warned him and told him that they apprehended treachery, and he was about to take a step which he might unavailingly regret. He replied that their fears were all imaginary; that in the face of all the oaths and promises of his brother, it was unworthy of a Muslim to cherish doubt and mistrust. That day passed in debate. Aurangzeb did not lose sight of his purpose, but pursued it with greater determination and prolonged his halt at Mathura on pretence of relaxation. He continued sending daily to his brother similar messages. At last in his simple-heartedness Sultán Murád Bakhsh consented to visit him. On the third day he went out in the morning to hunt. It was to be the last day of his freedom. He was returning about breakfast time from the jungle, when his servant, Núru'ddín, who was seemingly faithful to him but secretly attached to Aurangzeb, came up in great haste and told him that Aurangzeb had been suddenly attacked by colic and was unable to leave his bed, and that he had expressed an ardent desire to see him, and, believing himself at the point of death,

wished to declare his last will and wishes: and that there was no danger if he now visited him. As he was quite ignorant of the tricks of time-servers he turned his horse and galloped toward Aurangzeb's camp, attended by a few of his followers. Some of Aurangzeb's friends who were in the secret, waiting for this opportunity, ran out to receive him and conducted him in alone and left his attendants outside. Aurangzeb, who had been lying on his bed as if prostrated by disease, rose to receive him with great ceremony, made an excessive parade of affection and expressed himself delighted and cheered at seeing him. He talked of pains in his stomach, the medicine he had taken, and the relief he had gained, and spoke with a feeble voice. As the weather was excessively hot and the sun scorching, he had erected a cool chamber with grass screens in the open space in his private quarters. He brought his brother into it. He gave him breakfast and said that after he had eaten and taken a short doze, they would converse together on public affairs, and he ordered his servants to wait upon their master. The object of inducing him to take this sleep was that he should put down his arms. The unforeseeing prince took off his armour, laid his weapons aside, and began to eat. While the prince was eating Aurangzeb took up a fan and with great blandishments kept driving off the flies with his own hand. After breakfast he called a female attendant to shampoo his legs. When Aurangzeb saw him fallen into the sleep so disastrous, he retired to his ladies' quarters on pretence of taking a rest. When the prince was sound asleep and the servants and attendants not belonging to Aurangzeb had been told to leave and gone out, a female servant went in from the ladies' quarters and removed

his sword and other weapons. Then Shekh Mír and others who were biding this chance, as there was no further reason to wait, went in at once to where he was sleeping. Aurangzeb had lifted the edge of a curtain so as to leave a small aperture, and through it he peeped with one eye, observing all that went on. The unlucky prince was disturbed by the footsteps and clash of the shields of Shekh Mír and his companions. He opened his eyes, gazed at the strange intruders and stood up in consternation. He looked for his weapons but they were gone. He realized the scene, heaved a deep sigh of despair, and cried out : " This is how he serves a sincere and candid man like me ! He has indeed abided by the pledges, promises, and the Qurán which were our mutual guarantee ! " Aurangzeb, who was behind the curtain, retreated a few steps and replied : " As you, my dear brother, have lately assumed airs constructively hostile, which might develope to the public detriment, and your head has been turned by the foolish suggestions, low cunning, and natural baseness of some who were your advisers, so that wise and discerning persons, who have observed your conduct, have anticipated a commotion affecting the security of Allah's servants, and consider you a source of weakness and a danger to the empire, it is necessary for your correction that you should seek quiet and repose, and you must be placed beyond the temptations and besetments of public life. If not, God forbid that I should entertain a thought of taking any one's life, especially that of my brother whom I hold so dear. God be praised that there has been no breach of any pledge or promise, and my brother's life is safe in God's keeping. The wise, in accordance with the text :

“ ‘It may be that ye loathe a thing and it is for you a
 “good,’ should have such trust under circumstances such
 “as these that things are for their good, that they
 “should feel no grief or regret.

“Whte’er the pilgrim’s path may cross,
 “All is to him with blessing fraught.”

Then Diler Khán and Shekh Mír, in compliance with Aurangzeb’s orders, mounted Sultán Murád Bakhsh on an elephant and set out for Sháhjahánábád and travelled with the utmost speed. Some of his servants who had been out with him that day, such as Khwája Shahbáz, a commander of five thousand, and two or three others who were outside at the time, were arrested and placed in confinement. His army, about 20,000 cavalry, remained all that day quite ignorant of this event, and only heard of it when it was beyond their power to do anything. They had no resource left but to join Aurangzeb. Mukhlás Khán was appointed to attach all Murád Bakhsh’s property, money, moveables, cattle, everything little or great, and make a list of them with minute care and deliver them to Aurangzeb. All the women of his haram were sent to Sháhjahánábád. The date of this remarkable event was the 4th of Shawwál 1068 A. H. [1658 A.D.].

When Aurangzeb had thus freed himself from the danger of Sultán Murád Bakhsh’s factiousness, he marched on. Dará Shikoh was seized with terror and fled to Láhaur. Aurangzeb continued his advance to Sháhjahánábád where he arrived on the 13th Shawwál, 1068 A. H. [1658 A.D.], and halted for two days at the Zafar-ábád palace. On the third day he set out for Láhaur and encamped at the Sirhindi Bágh, and Mukhlás Khán

and others, who had been employed in attaching and confiscating Sultán Murád Bakhsh's property, came with all his female relatives and paid their respects to Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb now learned that Sulaimán Shikoh was

Pursuit of the army of Sulaimán Shikoh, who was returning from Banáras at his father's request to visit him.

hastening from Lucknow to join his father. He despatched Sháyista Khán, Amíru'lumara, and directed him to proceed with Sultán Muham-

mad, who was in Akbarábád, to the Duáb and hold the fords against Sulaimán Shikoh. Fidá'i Khán came from the Duáb to Aurangzeb, and was honoured with the personal rank of a Chahár-hazári and was placed in command of 2,500 horse. He was directed to join Sultán Muhammad, and, receiving a present of a drum and a horse, he hurried by forced marches to Saháranpur. He covered the distance in three days and arrived before Sháyista Khán and the prince, and took up his position at a ford where it was rumoured Sulaimán Shikoh intended to cross. A letter now came to his hand written by Báaz Bahádur, Rája of Kumáon, from which it was gathered that the Rája of Srínagar, who was assisting Sulaimán Shikoh, had sent one of his officers to accompany him and lead him across the Ganges at Haridwár and *via* Diwáli on to Láhaur. Fidá'i Khán enclosed this letter in one of his own and sent it to Aurangzeb, and himself with fifty cavalry, covering a distance of one hundred and sixty miles in twenty-four hours, arrived at the hour of afternoon prayer in Haridwár. Sulaimán Shikoh had arrived before him with 7,000 horse and intended to cross the river in the evening and pass along the base of the mountains under cover of the night. Sháyista Khán was also coming up from Akbarábád, and the news of his approach spread in the

neighbourhood of Haridwár. Sulaimán Shikoh was paralysed by the arrival of Fidá'i Khán and the notice of Sháyista Khán's arrival, and could not venture to cross. His followers who were mostly Saiyads of Bárha were overwhelmed with fear for their children and wives and deserted him. About 2,000 men proved faithful and elected to stand by him, and, yielding to necessity, he took refuge in the mountains of Srínagar and thus saved himself from an attack. Pirthi Singh, the Rája of Srínagar, came down the hills and escorted the prince into his own territory. Fidá'i Khán forwarded a despatch detailing events to Aurangzeb and was ordered to come to him. Sháyista Khán returned to Sultán Muhammad at Akbarábád. Aurangzeb appointed Ghazanfar Khán faujdár of the Duáb, and Qásim Khán governor of Sambal. Saiyad Shujá'at Khán was granted the zamíndári of Haridwár, and hastened thither. They were all instructed to post themselves at such points as they thought best and prevent Sulaimán Shikoh returning to the plains.

Aurangzeb halted for three days in the Sirhindi Bágh. Aurangzeb ascends and when the week of dark nights the imperial throne. had passed he ascended the throne on the first Friday of Zíqa'd 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], at an hour declared auspicious by astrologers, and distributed gifts in honour of the occasion. He remained there for some few days more, and employed himself in arranging details of government. He then left for the Panjáb. Dára Shikoh hearing of his approach fled from Láhaur to Multán. Aurangzeb being informed of this, sent Diler Khán, Fidá'i Khán, and other trusty officers with 15,000 horse to pursue him. Fidá'i Khán was presented on his departure with a robe of honour and an elephant:

and gold muhars to the value of ten lakhs of rupees were sent with him loaded on camels for the pay of the army with him. Aurangzeb marched after him at the rate of 60 miles per diem, reached Multán and went on to the neighbourhood of Thatha.

Frequent reports having reached Aurangzeb that Sháh Shujá' had marched up to Patna with the intention of establishing himself, and had caused great disorder, he sent an army to chase Dára Shikoh, and appointing Fidá'i Khán Súbahdár of Awadh, Butwal, and Gorakhpur, with the rank of Chahár-hazári, detailed him to check Sháh Shujá'. He returned himself to Láhaur, where he stayed for three days in the Faiz Bakhsh Bâgh, and then marched to Sháhjahánábád. He arrived here in Rabí'u'l-awwal of 1069 A.H. [1658 A.D.], spent four days in the imperial palace, and on the 17th of the month, left for military operations against Sháh Shujá'.

Saiyad Kású, a servant of Dára Shikoh's, had shut himself up in the Allahábád fort, and strengthened his position, and Khán Daurán had besieged the fort by Aurangzeb's order, and was doing his utmost to reduce it. Saiyad Kású sent a request for aid to Sháh Shujá', asking him to come up from Patna, and he came. Khán Daurán on hearing of the near approach of Sháh Shujá', abandoned the siege of the fort, and retired to Korah. Saiyad Kású, on Dára Shikoh's advice, made the fort over to Sháh Shujá's servants and marched out. Sháh Shujá' took all Sulaimán Shikoh's property which had been left in the fort and sent it to Bengál, and established himself in the fort.

Aurangzeb now sent Sultán Muhammad with Zu'lfagár Khán, Islám Khán, and other officers, and about 12,000 horse, by a direct route ahead to Allahábád ; and he himself marched with a large force along the Ganges and came through Makhanpur to Qanaúj, and hastened thence to Korah Ghátampur where he encamped. Sultán Muhammad with his force, and Khán Daurán and other officers who were round about, joined him. Sháh Shujá' took up a position at Khajawa, a town about six miles from Aurangzeb. He arrived in the evening and prepared for a battle, which began next morning.

Rája Jaswant Singh, who had made a promise to Sháh Shujá', being always true to Sháhjahán, deserted Aurangzeb's camp towards the end of the night, and with all his Rájputs fled to Akbarábád, hoping thereby to materially weaken Aurangzeb. When leaving the camp he raised an alarm that Sháh Shujá' had fallen on Aurangzeb and secured him, and his Rájput followers began to plunder the baggage of Aurangzeb's army, and departed plundering as they went. Sultán Muhammad's tents were looted. Aurangzeb discovered this in the morning, but wisely took no notice, remained firm, and was indifferent to the rája's departure.

As Sháh Shujá' was determined to fight, Aurangzeb prepared for battle. He placed Zu'lfagár Khán in the van with 10,000 men ; gave the command of the right wing to Sultán Muhammad, Islám Khán and Khán Daurán being attached to him, while Saffshikan Khán with 3,000 cavalry supported their flank. The centre was occupied by Aurangzeb himself and Mu'azzam

Desertion of Jaswant Singh from Aurangzeb's army.

Advance to Khajawa and encounter with Sháh Shujá'.

Khán, who had arrived the day before from the Dakhin. On the other side Sháh Shujá' arranged his army thus:— Saiyad 'Álam with 5,000 men occupied the front, Shekh Wali with 4,000 horse was placed on the right, and Hasan Khán Khweshgi on the left with 4,000 horse; Isfandyár Beg with 2,000 cavalry supported the right, and Saiyad 'Ali Khán the left with 2,000; Sháh Shujá' with Illahwirdi Khán and Saiyad Kású took the centre with 2,000 horse. The battle raged fiercely until suddenly the startling news of the desertion was circulated among Aurangzeb's force, and then numbers of officers left the field and fled to Akbarábád. In this way about 10,000 cavalry with their officers and elephants bearing standards deserted. The Rájputs who had gone with Rája Jaswant Singh plundered the deserters. Wherever one Rájput spear in hand showed himself on a pony, a host of them crouched in helpless fear, and a few Rájputs had merely to pull the leading string out of a camel driver's hand and drive off whole lines of camels. There was no one to offer resistance. The alarming news spread to Akbarábád, Sháhjahánábád, even to Láhaur, and the limits of the empire; and all who came flying from the field confirmed the rumour with increasing exaggeration, even declaring that they had themselves seen what had happened; till it was finally reported that Sháh Shujá' had taken Aurangzeb prisoner and was actually close to Akbarábád. Sháyista Khán, who was governor of Akbarábád, became so disconcerted by these false rumours that he proposed flying to the Dakhin to escape the emperor's wrath. He sent a message at midnight to Fázil Khán, and asked him for Ásaf Jáh's sake to entreat the emperor to forgive him. Fázil Khán endeavoured to reassure him and told him

that his alarm was unbecoming, and that he should wait till morning for reliable information.

A story is told how a jeweller came to Aurangzeb in the middle of this confusion, and drew a valuable precious stone from his pocket and showed it to him. Aurangzeb took it in his hand and, examining it carefully, said: its weight is so and so, its good points so and so, its flaws so and so, and its price so much. The dealer presented him five gold muhars as a nazr and congratulated him, and assured him of a victory. Aurangzeb laughed and asked him what he meant. He replied: "Your Highness knows the treachery of Jaswant Singh who deserted with 50,000 Rájputs, and the dispersion of others of your force in the very heat of battle, and in front you see the emperor's army facing you and artillery directed against you, and yet you have with complete composure examined this stone, and stated its qualities and its flaws with perfect accuracy. This is a clear proof that you shall be victorious."

Aurangzeb, although his right wing and his left wing were nearly gone, and he had only a few of them and his van left in the field, a mere remnant of his original 60,000 or 70,000 men, still fought with determination. Hasan Khweshgi charged Sultán Muhammad's force, and made his way to the prince's elephant, where he was killed. Shekh Zaríf, Dániyál, and Saiyad Bhíkan fought their way up to Aurangzeb where they were made prisoners; but Saiyad 'Alam, who had fought with equal bravery, rode back and escaped. Sultán Muhammad, Zu'lfaqár Khán, and Bahádur Khán made a series of attacks on Sháh Shujá's army with such determined bravery that eventually they gave way and left the

field. Sháh Shujá' fled and Aurangzeb was left victorious.

Other writers state that on this day, Sunday, the 19th Rabí'u'ssání, 1068 A.H. [1658 A.D.], the battle was turning against Aurangzeb, and his forces were on the point of flying; a remnant only remained round Aurangzeb's elephant. He had bound its feet with an iron chain to prevent the possibility of its flying, and was determined to stand to the last, when unexpectedly Sháh Shujá', by the evil and treacherous advice of Illahwirdi Khán dismounted from the howdah of his elephant, as Dára Shikoh had done, and mounted a horse, with the intention of being able to capture Aurangzeb, and prevent him escaping and showing fight again. When he dismounted, his soldiers fled at once, and finding himself deserted, he escaped to Bengál.

The author of this history heard from Mírza Haidar 'Ali, a son of Illahwirdi Khán, who held a post under Nawáb Jawáhir 'Ali Khán for a long time, that Sháh Shujá' during the few subsequent months of his rule, in Bengál encountered Mu'azzam Khán in the field and getting Illahwirdi Khán into his hands, slit his neck up the back and drew his tongue out behind, and killed him with various tortures.

After this engagement Murád Khán, who bore the title of Makramat Khán, and others who had served under Sháh Shujá', came over to Aurangzeb, and congratulated him on his victory, and he pitched his tents on the field and plundered the property of Sháh Shujá', and took possession of his guns and baggage. The victory was remarkable as it was gained by Aurangzeb's determination and patience in the face of the desertion.

of Jaswant Singh, and the flight of many of his officers in the heat of battle. It exhibits him as a wonderful combination of bravery, self-reliance, ambition, determination, patience, judicious indifference and well-timed forbearance, penetration and wisdom. In the family of Taimúr and among the descendants of Bábar his equal in war and in counsel, in subtlety and resource, there has been none. Though this noble line of emperors has been endowed above all others with these qualities, I know that every one who has read the history of his predecessors and successors, and is capable of forming a judgment, will bear me out in this assertion. God did indeed endow Aurangzeb richly with a combination of splendid gifts, and all the advantages that other emperors distributively enjoyed were united in his sole individuality. When empire is at stake and men seek a throne, deeds as famous and praiseworthy as Aurangzeb's, nay, even more so, will be done, for ambitious princes will perform such deeds: but that one who clothed himself as Aurangzeb did with a cloak of godly reverence, piety, devotion, consistency, sanctity and moderation, should treat his own father and brothers so foully as he did; should murder Dará Shikoh pleading the law of the Muslim faith as his authority; should decapitate Sarmad on a like pretence; should raze a mosque to the ground in his greed for a treasure he imagined to be hid below it; should in his old age seek to expel and exterminate his own sons: all this is certainly inconsistent with piety and the love of God. When he captured the fort he performed the feat of reciting the whole Qurán between sunset and midnight, but he did not give a farthing to the poor. Such piety in a prince is like that described by Sa'di, where he says: "If you ask him for a copper he

"is like an ass stuck in the mud, but if you say: 'Praise be to God,' he echoes your voice a hundred times."

Thank God, I who write this book have not failed to do justice. I have endeavoured to expose something of the hypocrisy of Aurangzeb, when telling the story of Dárá Shikoh's death. The sincerity of this ill-fated prince is proved beyond doubt by his pamphlets and other writings, and by the verses which he composed in the face of his murderers.

Aurangzeb despatched Sultán Muhammad with some of his officers to pursue Sháh Shujá' and expel him from Bengál and take the province. He then set out on his return to the capital and sent a despatch to Sháyista Khán and other officers at Akbarábád announcing his victory and the flight of his brother. Sháyista Khán, who was half dead with apprehension, was now reassured.

Dárá Shikoh, as already said, went from Multán to

Further account of
Dárá Shikoh and the
battle at Ajmír.

Thatha. He then made for Gujrát.

The army which was in pursuit of
him now turned back. Khálílullah

Khán, who had been made governor of the Pañjáb, returned to Láhaur. Mír Khán, Diler Khán, and others returned to Aurangzeb. Dárá Shikoh after enduring extreme hardships, being without water and grain between Thatha and Junagarh, arrived near Ahmadábád. Sháh Nawáz Khán, son of Mírza Rustam Safwi, who was názim of Gujrát, sent a friendly letter to him expressing his submission, so he became confident and drew nearer to Ahmadábád and encamped. Sháh Nawáz Khán then sent his sons to wait on him and himself afterwards hastened to receive the prince. This Sháh Nawáz Khán was father-in-law of Aurangzeb, but was for some reason dissatisfied with him and joined Dárá Shikoh. The prince

entered the city at an appointed hour and occupied the royal palace. He left the special seat of the emperor empty and took one below it. Sháh Nawáz Khán insisted on his taking the emperor's seat, and he sat on the emperor's audience dais.

Dará Shikoh intended to proceed through Sultánpur to the Dakhin and there establish himself. At this juncture he heard of the advance of Sháh Shujá' and of Aurangzeb's march to oppose him. He therefore thought that an opportunity was now given to him to march to Akbarábád and rescue the emperor from the fort. He employed Sháh Nawáz Khán to collect an army, and nearly 20,000 cavalry were brought together. At the same time Rája Jaswant Singh sent Náhar Singh, one of his trusted agents, to Dará Shikoh to tell him that he had deserted Aurangzeb because of his loyalty to him and that his life was at his service; that Dará Shikoh should come to him and he was prepared to assist him with a large Rájput army. Dará Shikoh at once embraced the opportunity and marched. Sháh Nawáz Khán accompanied him. Aurangzeb, hearing of these movements, marched from Khajawa to Akbarábád after Sháh Shujá's flight, and, crossing the river at Simugarh, proceeded through Bári towards Ajmír. Shekh Mír, Saffshikan Khán, and Diler Khán, who had pursued Dará Shikoh up to Tbatha, returned and joined Aurangzeb at Bári. Bahádur also came from Allahábád. Rája Jai Singh, at Aurangzeb's request, sent a message to Jaswant Singh, recommending him not to join Dará Shikoh, for fortune had plainly deserted him and adherence to him would only cause the waste and ruin of his own country, and advising him to embrace this chance

of appeasing Aurangzeb and obtaining pardon for his late crime :

‘ From the shadow of the luckless like a winged arrow fly,
 ‘ To the mansions of the lucky for a bidding refuge hie.’

Jaswant Singh after full deliberation saw no escape for himself but this, and so withdrew from Dárá Shikoh's course, and sent a penitent letter through Jai Singh to Aurangzeb asking him to forgive him. Dárá Shikoh had marched up with great haste and was expecting Jaswant Singh to come to meet him, but there was no sign of him. He sent a message to him, but he refused to come. Dárá Shikoh sent his son Sulaimán Shikoh to him and entreated his co-operation, saying that it was at his invitation he had come, and that it was unworthy of a brave and honourable man to break his promise. Jaswant Singh was heedless of the appeal, moved farther away, and shamelessly replied that he was one of Aurangzeb's loyal adherents ; that it was idle for him to expect his assistance, and he should count himself lucky that he did not fall upon him. Dárá Shikoh thus disappointed halted at Ajmír with the army he had brought from Ahmadábád. The Rájputs who had joined him left for their homes on seeing Jaswant Singh's withdrawal. Tarbiyat Khán, the governor of Ajmír, left it on Dárá Shikoh's appearance and went to Aurangzeb. Bakhshi-u'l-mulk, Muhammad Amír Khán, who had been detached with 2,000 cavalry to watch Jaswant Singh, retired to a point some marches in his rear. Dárá Shikoh erected a low wall from the Theli fort to the Madár hill, dug trenches, mounted guns, and placing men on the watch, prepared for an attack.

On the 25th Jamádi, usṣāni 1069 A.H. [1659 A.D.],

Dará Shikoh's second battle with Aurangzeb. after successive marches, Aurangzeb came within sight of Ajmír, and encamped within four miles of his brother's entrenchments. Purdil Khán crossed the top of the hill with one hundred and fifty men, and taking up a position six miles distant from Dará Shikoh's entrenchments, halted for the night. In the morning Aurangzeb's advanced guard moved up to the attack. At the same time Ra'd Andáz Khán and 'Abdullah Khán Shírāzi moved forward with two thousand horse and an engagement began, which continued for four and a-half hours from sunrise. Then Bahádur Khán and Saffshikan Khán advanced with the artillery and Aurangzeb halted in their rear six miles from the enemy's entrenchments. The artillery was posted in front of the enemy, and a continuous fire of musketry and cannon was kept up on both sides from evening to sunrise. Next morning Aurangzeb's artillery was moved half a mile nearer, and the mutual firing continued. About midday some two thousand cavalry of the enemy charged from their entrenchments on both flanks of Aurangzeb's artillery, and fought desperately. Aurangzeb's men defended themselves with great bravery. This continued till evening when the fighting ceased and both sides rested, except for an interchange of musketry, cannon, and rocket fire which was maintained during the night. Next morning Aurangzeb drew his army together for an attack. Shekh Mír and Diler Khán posted themselves in the rear of the artillery. Mírza Rája Jai Singh arranged his force on its right, and the sons of Sháyista Khán Amír-u'lumara placed themselves with their father on the left of the rája. Ráj-rúp with his Rájputs showed

himself on the top of the hill, and two thousand men advanced from Dará Shikoh's entrenchments to repulse Rájráp. Sháyista Khán's sons engaged the enemy and drove them back at the point of sword and spear, and, pursuing them as they fled, expelled them from the entrenchments at the base of the hill and took possession of the trenches, where they established themselves. Shekh Mír and Mírza Rája now advanced boldly from the direction of Abu Sa'íd's garden, and Bahádur Khán with ten thousand cavalry dashed up from Rána Ságar. Ten thousand of the enemy's horse led by Sháh Nawáz Khán and Qulích Khán issued from the entrenchments and engaged Shekh Mír and others. A desperate encounter followed. The loss of life on either side was great. Evening found them still engaged, when a ball from the battery directed by Khwájgi killed Shekh Mír. Diler Khán now made a bold dash and drove the enemy back with the dagger. He pushed on to where Sháh Nawáz Khán was standing on the wall of the entrenchment, urging on his men to the fight, and wounded him in the stomach with an arrow, which killed him, and threw his corpse on an elephant. Qulích Khán, who had the title of Muhammad Sharíf Šafdar Kháni, was rendered *hors de combat* by his wounds and dropped out of the fight. When night fell Dará Shikoh's forces fled, and Aurangzeb's officers, having gained the whole entrenchments, entered the camp. Some of them made for Dará Shikoh, who was sitting on the banks of a tank, watching the battle; but he escaped under cover of the darkness, and, sending the ladies of his harem on before him, sought to reach Gujrát through Nágaaur. He fled so precipitately that for three days no trace of him could be found. Qulích Khán, who was unable to mount a horse because

of his wounds, was conveyed to Saffshikan Khán in the entrenchments, where his wounds were sewed up: but he died.

The booty which fell into the hands of Aurangzeb's Flight of Dará Shikoh from Ajmír. victorious army was immense, and a great number of Dará Shikoh's servants came over to Aurangzeb. Dará Shikoh, giving up all hope of the empire, became a wanderer with a few companions. Rája Jai Singh and Bahádur Khán were deputed with 8,000 horse to pursue him. Jaswant Singh, who was too ashamed to present himself before Aurangzeb, was, on the solicitation of Jai Singh, appointed governor of the súbah of Gurjât and went there. The date of this victory was 29th Jamádi, ussání 1069 A.H. [1659 A. D.] On the 4th Rajab Aurangzeb set out for Sháhjahánábád, where he arrived and occupied the imperial palace and assumed the reins of government. He set himself to the duty of furthering the Muhammadan fáith. He repaired many of the old mosques and other buildings of the ancient emperors, such as Sultán Fíroz Sháh, Sultán Bahlol Lodí, and their descendants, which had fallen into ruins through the neglect of recent emperors, and they were completely renovated. He appointed imáms, muazzins, khatíbs, and other servants at these mosques on fixed salaries. He also assisted students, in proportion to their proficiency, with daily stipends, so that they might apply themselves with all their hearts. They say that the students of Mízán received one anna, of Munsha'ib two annas, and up to Shara' Wiqáya and Fiqah eight annas per diem. The eight-annas allowance was continued until the student had attained complete proficiency. After this they were set apart to teach others and to worship the Creator,

and received a grant from the revenue of mu'áfi villages and a daily allowance according to their needs. In this way the study of theology was fostered and spread. Those who acted contrary to the Shara' were punished, and the Hanafi sect observed fasts and prayers and were appointed authorities in matters of faith.

Sarmad fell in love with a Hindú boy, and, being dis-
 appointed, lived in a most abject
 Murder of the poet Sarmad. manner, and by the order of the
 arbáb-i-shara' (religious authorities) was put to death, because he lived in complete nudity. It is said that Dárá Shikoh had a great regard for him, and one day, in the ravings of love, he said Dárá Shikoh would become a king. After the murder of Dárá Shikoh, Aurangzeb sent the qázi to him and inquired of him : " You said so " and so, and the opposite has happened. What have you " to say ? " Sarmad replied : " I did not say that he would " be a king of this transitory world ; I meant the world " to come, and that is his portion." They say that he bowed his neck to the executioner with the greatest non-chalance and indifference, in accordance with the poet's expression :—

Though on me, where my love is, swords should fall ;
 I bow my neck, for Allah's will is all.

and uttered with his parting breath these lines :—

In the dust of the road my beloved has trod,
 I am clothed, though naked I be :
 With his sword the assassin may cut off my head,
 That path he but opens to me.

Aurangzeb now arranged a second coronation cere-
 mony and distributed gifts and con-
 ferred dignities. This celebration
 continued by his order from the first
 Coronation celebra-
 tion and distribution of
 rewards.

of Shawwál, the 'Ydu'lfiṭar to the morning of the 'Ydu'z-zuhá, an interval of two months and ten days. Amidst these festivities the news of Dárá Shikoh's capture arrived and added to the enjoyment of the occasion. The kḥuṭba was read and coins were struck in Aurangzeb's name from the 24th Ramzán 1069 A.H. [1659 A.D], the date on which his coronation took place, and from that day the preparation for the festivities was begun, which lasted as already stated.*

Mírza Rája Jai Singh sent the following letter to 'Álamgír, announcing the capture of Dárá Shikoh:—

“When Qázi 'Ináyatullah was sent from Sarohi
 “with letters from 'Umdatulmulk Bahádur Khán to
 “the zamíndárs of the frontier, directing them to use
 “every effort for the arrest of Dárá Shikoh, after my
 “arrival in this quarter I received a letter from the
 “Qázi to the effect that Jíwan, zamíndár of Dháwar,
 “had captured Dárá Shikoh and his son. Immediately
 “on hearing this I marched in haste, leaving my fol-
 “lowers and baggage behind, crossed the Indus near
 “Bhakkar, and, sending on Átash Beg Qalmáq and
 “Mahmúd Qadímí ahead, followed them. On the 12th
 “Shawwál they returned, bringing Dárá Shikoh and his
 “son, and on the 17th, having crossed the Indus, I
 “camped near Lomri. An unavoidable delay was caused
 “while waiting for conveyances for the ladies of the
 “harem. I sent a letter from Dárá Shikoh with Ma'qúl
 “Khwája Sará and Saiyad Hámid Budá,úní to those
 “shut up in the fort, and I expect that to-morrow the
 “fort will be surrendered to me. A detailed list of the
 “jewels and other property is given in 'Umdatulmulk
 “Bahádur Khán's letter. Our main object was the

* Henceforth Aurangzeb will be known as 'Álamgír.

“capture of Dárá Shikoh. The arrow which had sped
 “has returned to the bow, and the prey which had
 “escaped from the net is again captive. I congratulate
 “Your Majesty on our success. I thank you for the gun
 “which you were so kind as to give me. It is a most
 “beautiful weapon. All my wishes have been gratified.”

‘Álamgír replied as follows:—

“To that most excellent rája, my loyal and experienced friend, Mírza Rája Jai Singh, imperial greeting.

“His letter of Friday night, announcing the capture
 “of Dárá Shikoh, has come to hand. A thousand commendations for the excellent service rendered by that
 “distinguished rája. He has fully proved his loyalty
 “and zeal. It is owing to his honesty of purpose that
 “the prey which had escaped from the net is again
 “captive. *Though each hair of mine were a tongue, I*
 “*could not express one of the thousand thanks I owe*
 “*you.* ‘Praise God!’ and I say again, ‘God be
 “praised!’ A special robe of honour has been conferred on the rája, and now that, by the will of God,
 “matters have been determined in my favour, it is
 “directed that he come on one march in advance of
 “Bahádur Khán, that I may confer on him tokens of
 “my good will and send him to his own country.”

Dárá Shikoh, when he fled, was unable to convey with
 him all his property, and a great share
 fell into the hands of ‘Álamgír and
 much was looted by landholders.

Misfortune of Dárá
 Shikoh and his capture.

He made his way, through Jám and Bhára, towards Thatha, intending to cross the Indus at Bhakkar and fly to the neighbourhood of Qandahár, and he hoped, in some

disguise, to reach the King of Persia and obtain his protection. He thought that at some future time, if fortune turned and opportunities favoured him, he might open his heart to that monarch and by his assistance achieve his cherished purpose. He was so closely pursued by 'Alamgír's emissaries, who turned night into day in his pursuit, that he was unable to make any halt. His many misfortunes were crowned by the death of his wife—the daughter of Sultán Parvíz, son of Jahángír, who had been his faithful companion and attendant—who had shared all his joys and sorrows and been the partner of his pleasures and his pains, had accompanied him in all his journeys and all his halts, and had been the recipient of all his confidences and the repository of all his secrets. On account of the perfect love and complete unity which existed between them, her death prostrated and unnerved the prince. He lost all desire for sovereignty and advanced broken-hearted. Wherever he went he was robbed and protection was denied him, because there was a force close in his rear. Sometimes he was so hard pushed that he could only with difficulty obtain bread. His horses and baggage animals were worn out with the fatigue of forced marches. At last he reached Dháwar and took refuge with Jíwan Khán, a local landholder who was under many obligations to him, and he dismissed to their homes any of his followers who desired to leave him.

It is said that, when at the height of his prosperity as heir-apparent, DárĀ Shikoh wrote these lines :—

Not for a sovereign's diadem my heart hath framed a fond desire,
To shoeless freedom of the foot like vagrant beggar I aspire.

This message, breeze of morning, to Sikandar and Sulaimán bear :

' Mine be the realm of indigence, the pomp of empire yours to share.'

Afterwards, when he heard of the imprisonment of Sháhjahán and 'Álamgír's accession, he was unable to contain himself in his flight and shed tears of despair, and wrote these lines:—

O cruel fortune, fickle, cold,
I say not give me crown or throne:
The world is but a hostel old:
To give or take is all thine own.

They say further that, after the second battle, when he sustained defeat at Ajmír, he wrote these touching verses and sent them secretly to the emperor, Sháhjahán, who, on reading them, shed tears of sorrow and regret:—

My heart for the sake of a lover untrue
From the worship of Allah I tore:
The candle that burned at the shrine of my God,
To the door of an idol I bore.
So nor kindled the flame nor scattered the smoke,
While the love that I tendered was spurned:
And nor friend nor a stranger water would pour
To quench the mad passion that burned.

Sháhjahán wrote the following verses in reply and sent them secretly to him, but was so overwhelmed with grief that he could not compass the full verse in rhyme. He could only reiterate—*

O thou heart of my heart, thou light of my eye,
O jewel more precious than kingdoms could buy:
Dará Shikoh, my son.

They call me a king in the east and the west,
But here in the walls of a dungeon I rest:
Dará Shikoh, my son.

* This is a point regarding Persian versification, *qáfiya* and *radif*.

My Dárá is gone, my beloved is fled,
 And Hind. is to me like the land of the dead :
 Dárá Shikoh, my son.

Like Jacob's my eyes with their weeping are wan ;
 My Joseph like Jacob's to Egypt is gone :
 Dárá Shikoh, my son.

'In age I have thee, on whose hand to rely,'
 I said, but thou art not, and helpless I die :
 Dárá Shikoh, my son.

Jíwan Khán, who was naturally inclined to evil courses, forgetting the claims of past obligations in his anxiety for present advancement, conspired with a band of robbers and captured Dárá Shikoh and sent word to Bahádur Khán, who was in pursuit. He started at once to take the prince, and next morning, arrived unexpectedly at dawn, and captured him with his whole family. He left again at once for Delhi and sent, while on the march, a letter to 'Alamgír, announcing his success, which had been pure luck and not due to his own exertions.

Most other historians state that, after sustaining his second defeat, Dárá Shikoh gave up all hopes of regaining the crown, proceeded towards Persia, and the imperial army pursued him. At last he reached the territory of Dháwar, in the vicinity of the fort of Qandahár. As Jíwan Khán, the zamíndár of that country, had been twice condemned by Sháhjahán to be crushed alive by elephants, and had been saved on each occasion by Dárá Shikoh's intercession, Dárá Shikoh relied implicitly on the obligations under which he had laid him, and so halted there for a few days at the traitor's request. Meanwhile his wife died, and he stayed four days more to make arrangements for the despatch of her corpse to

Hindústán. Although some faithful followers represented to him that the Persian frontier was only twelve miles distant, and that a force sent by the King of Persia to meet him was waiting on the other side of the border, and that Khán Jahán, 'Alamgír's foster brother, had come close up in pursuit, and that it was unwise to trust to the specious snares of Jíwan Khán, and advised him to place himself beyond danger, as he would be if he were only to spend a few days across the border within Khurásán, he shut his ears to their counsels and continued to rely on the honour of a time-server. He had every right to expect fidelity, and Jíwan Khán had troops around him sufficient to resist the pursuing force. Jíwan Khán represented to the prince that Khán Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh Khán would next day encamp at a place only twelve miles distant; that now was his last chance, and, that if he fled out for safety, he might escape; that if he did not depart, the approaching force would sack the place. At the same time the Khán sent secretly to Khán Jahán to say that he was about to turn out the prince, and that he should have a party of 'Alamgír's men ready to close him in on every side. Dárá Shikoh prepared to leave, and as soon as he left the buildings and reached the open country, men who had been placed in ambush by Jíwan Khán darted on him from every side and made him prisoner. They say that when captured he uttered these verses extempore, bewailing in despair his unfortunate lot:—

See, Dárá, my sad fate : in reach of shore

Wrecked is the ship through storm and sea that wore :

and he composed these lines also and kept repeating them :—

Though I all had staked and lost all, I was still the victor more,
 And was hasting—hasting gladly—freedom with the poor to share :
 Now my neck shall, like the ringdove's, wear a ring, but one of gore ;
 To the dove I show a semblance : all I bear in love I bear.

Dará Shikoh was conducted to Sháhjahánábád, dressed

Dará Shikoh is in blue garments as in mourning,
 brought to Sháhjahán- placed on an elephant and led through
 ábád and put to death. the city. He was in a state of utter
 dejection, hope and fear alternately dominating in his
 breast, and his head hung down like a broken branch.
 The spectacle moved the residents and their grief and
 pity were unmistakeable. He was led amid much
 tumult to the rest-house at Khwája Khizr's ford on the
 Jamna, where he was not long to tarry. On the night
 of Thursday, the 22nd Zihijh 1069 A.H. [1659 A.D.],
 his executioners entered and cut his head off with a
 short sword.

The compiler of these pages has seen in the collec-
 tion known as 'Ruqa'át 'Álamgír' the copy of a letter
 sent by Dará Shikoh from Khwája Khizr's ford to
 'Álamgír:—

"My dear brother and emperor,—I have relinquished
 "all notions of and aspirations to rule. My blessings
 "attend you. Kindly let me have one of my servants to
 "wait on me and a copy of the sacred Qurán to recite
 "day and night. That is empire enough for me. In
 "this case, why do you intend to kill me ?"

When 'Álamgír saw this letter he wrote on it:—
 "Now thou hast sinned and art among the mischief-
 "makers."*

Most historians write that when 'Álamgír's agents
 came into Dará Shikoh's presence, he knew that he had

* A verse of the Qurán.

not long to live. He wrote the following lines extempore and gave them to the leader of the band and extorted from him an oath that he would deliver them to 'Alamgír : then seizing his penknife he wounded some of them, but was cut down with a dagger :—.

For Paradise the sanctimonious sinner prays
 To Allah with its houris in his eye,
 And seeking Paradise from Him would flee :

How shallow is his wit his thought betrays
 Who, while his saintliness is all a lie,
 Thinks Allah's mercy cannot reach to me.

'Alamgír was moved to tears on perusing these lines, but the world had so filled his eyes that he was too preoccupied with the love of glory to spare a thought of pity to his father or brother.

It is stated in the Sháhjahánnáma, and the author has heard from trustworthy sources, that when Dárá Shikoh was being led through the city, an executioner in hideous guise was sitting on the elephant with him, brandishing a drawn sword before him, and the prince kept his head bowed in fear and shame. He had been the declared heir from his earliest days and was of all the emperor's sons the most loved and the finest in appearance. His bearing had endeared him to the soldiers and the populace. When they saw him in this pitiable plight they raised loud cries and gathered round the elephant. The people, great and small, neither ate nor drank that day or night. There was a popular tumult, and the citizens were near rescuing him from the elephant's back and wished to take him away afterwards from Khwája Khizr's rest-house and set him on the throne. There is no doubt that, had he lived a few days,

some reckless young bravados would have courageously risked the attempt. They say that 'Álamgír seeing this did not allow the night to pass, and what happened happened. They also say that the head of the murdered prince was placed in a niche on the top of the building and the blood trickled down leaving a red line. It is absolutely certain that repeated efforts were made to remove the stain, but each time that the wall was scraped and covered with plaster and quick-lime, when once the plaster and quick-lime had dried, the line again appeared in a few days brilliant as the rainbow. The effort to remove it had to be abandoned: and it survives to the present day. The headless trunk was buried in the clothes it wore in Humáyún's mausoleum and this text was inscribed on his tomb: 'Ye who have eyes to see take warning.'*

After his defeat at Khajawa Sháh Shujá' fled and Sultán Muhammad was sent to pursue him and seize Bengál. He hastened to that súbah accompanied by Mu-'azzam Khán as his adviser. Zu'lfqaár Khán, Islám Khán, Fatah Jang Khán, Lodi Khán, Dá'úd Khán, Kunwar Rám Singh, Rája Debi Singh, Rája Suján Singh, Indarman, Dharnidhar, Ihtashám Khán, Saiyad Fíroz, Ráo Bahádur Singh, son of Ráo Sattarsál, Saiyad Muzaffar Khán, Saiyad Shujá'at Khán, Akhlás Khán Khweshgi, Rashíd Khán Ansári and other officers, with a total force of about 30,000 men, were sent with the prince. Sháh Shujá' entrenched himself in a strong position on the banks of the river at Bhágalpur. Saiyad Kásu, who was now holding the

Further account of Sháh Shujá'. Despatch of Sultán Muhammad with an army to drive him from Bengál.

* Quotation from Qurán.

Allahábád fort for Sháh Shujá', was induced by Bahádur Khán, on the strength of promises of 'Álamgír's favour to vacate the fort and make it over to Khán Daurán; and Bahádur Khán took Saiyad Kásu with what property of Sulaimán Shikoh's Sháh Shujá' had abandoned to 'Álamgír.

When Sultán Muhammad arrived near Bhágalspur, he could not cross the river owing to floods and the great number of his army. He marched up-stream, crossed the Jamna on foot near Allahábád, and marching through Kheragarh advanced by way of Chunár to attack the enemy. Fidá'i Khán marched from Gorakhpur to Patna by 'Álamgír's order and arrived there eight days before Sháh Shujá'. Núru'lhasan, who had been dignified by Sháh Shujá' with the title of Saif Khán and was governor of Patna, set fire to the boats and sent Sháh Shujá' information of Fidá'i Khán's arrival. Sháh Shujá' marched from Bhágalspur to Patna in great haste, halted at Ja'far Khán's garden, and did not enter the city. This position, however, seemed to him inadvisable, even impossible, to hold, and he retired to Múngír. Eight days after his departure Sultán Muhammad arrived with his army and encamped at Patna. Here Fidá'i Khán joined him. As Sháh Shujá', who was encamped at Múngír, had closed all the fords of the river, Sultán Muhammad marched up the river *viâ* Gorakhpur and reached Múngír by another route. Sháh Shujá' moved to Garhi on hearing of his approach. Rája Bahroz, the landholder of Múngír, now transferred his fidelity to Sultán Muhammad and conducted him with his army to Chárkhand, marching himself in advance with haste and selecting for the troops stages where water and fodder were abundant. He appointed

his own agents to provide grain, which they brought in from all quarters for the army. As the route to Chárkhand lay for twelve stages through narrow defiles and across streams difficult to pass, and the ground was rough and there were no traces of human habitations, the army marched on the plan devised by 'Álamgír, of right wing, left wing, main body, van and rear. Zu'lfaqár Khán with 2,000 horse and Saffshikan Khán constituted the van; Islám Khán with 5,000 horse formed the right; Fidái Khán with 5,000 foot the left; Mu'azzam Khán with Kunwar Rám Singh, Akhlás Khán Khweshgi, Ráo Bháo Singh Hárh and Saiyad Muzaffar Khán with Sultán Muhammad made up the main body; Dá'úd Khán with 2,000 horse supported the left. In this way after twelve days they passed from the desert of Chárkhand into the estates of Khwája Kamál. Here they heard the very startling rumour that Dará Shikoh had been victorious at Ajmír, and that 'Álamgír was flying to the Dakhin. A mutiny arose among the troops in consequence of a false report which was on every one's tongue that Sultán Muhammad and Mu'azzam Khán, with other officers, were flying to the Dakhin by way of Orissa. Kunwar Rám Singh Chandráwat, Chatarbhuja Chauhán, Sher Beg, and Saiyad Shujá'at Khán with 4,000 horse deserted and retreated towards Akbarábád. The rest of the army marched with Sultán Muhammad to Maqsúdábád, and thence turned towards Rájmahal. Sháh Shujá'at marched in great haste from Garhi and arrived in Rájmahal, and set out with his women, and relatives, and property and baggage by boat for Dukchi, forty miles from Rájmahal. Illahwirdi Khán, who had deserted him, was behind in Rájmahal: so, burning with resentment, he returned

and submitted him to tortures, as has been already mentioned. He captured him and his son Saifullah and delivered them over to Saiyad Wali, who made them over to Saiyad Quli. They killed them both by Sháh Shujá's orders. After their death he returned to Dukchi. The Ganges, which here widens by the confluence of a number of streams or tributary rivers, was about a mile wide. He crossed it with all his women, stores, and commissariat, and, keeping to the boats, made his position exceedingly strong. In the meantime the imperial army arrived in the vicinity of Rájmahal and nearly 4,000 of Sháh Shujá's horse who had not yet been able to cross the river, losing heart, returned to Rájmahal. Zu'lfagár Khán entered the city with 5,000 cavalry and persuaded them to join Sultán Muhammad, to whom he sent them. The prince sat down with his army on the river bank opposite to the enemy. Mu'azzam Khán separated from him and moved to Súti, where the river is not so wide and receives only five tributaries. Here he posted himself to prevent the enemy bringing their boats across and setting them for Dháka. Sháh Shujá' took all his boats to Tándah and there fixed himself.

Mu'azzam Khán sent about 3,000 men across the Súti in boats and Saiyad 'Alam, who had been stationed by Sháh Shujá' opposite Mu'azzam Khán with one thousand soldiers, when he learned that they had crossed, let loose his men upon them and killed great numbers of them, and made prisoners of the rest and sent them to Sháh Shujá'. He then moved to Kursi and posted himself there. A few who had escaped returned to Mu'azzam Khán's camp. Thus his plan proved abortive. Dá'úd Khán came up from Patna with 5,000 men,

and Rashíd Khán, who was nominated to this province by Sultán Muhammad, joined Dá'úd Khán. Khwāja Sangi with 1,000 daring cavalry left Sháh Shujá's camp and crossed the river in boats, and, taking up a position opposite to Dá'úd Khán, prevented him crossing the river.

When two months had thus passed, Sultán Muhammad who had command of the army, leaves his camp and goes to Sháh Shujá'. Sultán Muhammad renounced through the folly and inexperience of youth, his love for his father, made overtures to Sháh Shujá', and secretly opened up a friendly correspondence with his uncle. Some say that Sháh Shujá', who wished to gain time, when he was at extremities and saw no means of escape, devised the following plan to procure his own safety. He thought that as Sultán Muhammad was dissatisfied with his own father for some reasons, and had lately become his son-in-law, if he were induced to enter into negotiations for a union, there might ensue some laxity of discipline in the imperial army. In this hope he wrote an artful letter holding out promises suitable to the moment but irrelevant to the real issue, and offering temptations which appeal to fools and are effective with inexperienced youths, and sent it to Sultán Muhammad, addressing him after this fashion: "The Sultán of the vast and rich province of Bengál with his daughter and his wealth awaits the arrival of his son." Sultán Muhammad read the letter and becoming impatient to gain wife and wealth took some of his special friends some days after and went in a boat by night to his uncle. Sháh Shujá' kept faith and fulfilled whatever promises he made.

In the 'Wáqí'át 'Álamgírí' the account given is as follows :—After a complete agreement had been arrived

at, Sultán Muhammad left one night when there was complete darkness and the water was rough and a high wind blowing, taking with him some jewels, articles mounted with gold and precious stones, and gold coins, and a few servants who were in the secret, cut a hole in the wall of his tent, got into a boat and fled to Sháh Shujá'. In the morning Sháh Shujá', thinking that, when the leader of the imperial army had come over to him, the army would have no choice but to follow their leader and join him, fitted out boats and sent them across to bring the officers and men to pay their submission to him. The flight of the prince had caused great excitement in the army and all, low and high, young and old, became concerned for the emperor and for their own safety. The army became disordered without its head. At last all the officers came together and opened a hot fire of cannon and musketry on Sháh Shujá's boats. The boats were obliged to return.

On the third day Mu'azzam Kẖán came from Sútí to Rájmahal and held a council, which all those loyal to the emperor attended. After much discussion, they voted Mu'azzam Kẖán leader. He returned to Sútí as commander. Zu'lfaqár Kẖán went back to Rájmahal. Fidá'i Kẖán and Islám Kẖán with 8,000 cavalry were posted at Dukchi. The army was again in hand, and the absence of Sultán Muhammad was reckoned the loss of but one individual. Things continued thus until the rainy season set in, and the winds became high and the rivers rose. The Ganges became a sea of waves. Mu'azzam Kẖán on account of the high winds and heavy rain took up his quarters in the village Ma'súma Bázár with 15,000 cavalry, and gave the army rest. Fidá'i Kẖán and Islám Kẖán and other officers with nearly

15,000 cavalry, by Mu'azzam Khán's advice, quartered themselves at Rájmahal. It was arranged that supplies should be sent to Rájmahal from Ma'súma Bázár, but not a grain arrived. The army owing to the scarcity of supplies and heavy rains suffered great distress. The price of food-grains rose to five rupees for two pounds, and was with difficulty obtained at the price. Rájmahal was but a small town and was completely surrounded by water. It had not such stores of grain as could suffice for the supply of so large a body of men and horses. After two months, when they could no longer hold out, the whole army in a body hurried to join Mu'azzam Khán at Ma'súma Bázár, and escaped the distress of scarcity.

Sháh Shujá' organized his army, left his river defences, and marching suddenly on Rájmahal, established himself there for two months. When the rainy season drew to a close, he boldly advanced against Mu'azzam Khán. Mu'azzam Khán also being informed of his advance, marched out eight miles from Ma'súma Bázár, and crossing the river which flows through that country selected a camp. He erected two bridges, one near his camp and the other a mile lower down, to enable his army to cross with ease. Twelve days later Sháh Shujá' left his encampment and advanced resolutely on Mu'azzam Khán. Mu'azzam Khán drew out his forces to receive him and the battle began about two hours before noon. When the battle was raging hottest, Sháh Shujá' remembering the words : 'Stratagem is war,' turned quietly from the enemy's front and moved away majestically. A rumour got abroad that he was leaving the field and retreating to Rájmahal. Hence all the commanders and officers left the bridge

unprotected and began to pursue him. Sháh Shujá' at once made a rush for the bridge, which spanned the river half a mile lower down-stream, and coming like lightning upon Yakka Táz Khán, who was guarding the bridge with 400 cavalry, cut them up with the sword, passed the bridge and rode on to the enemy's main body.. When his van were near the other bridge opposite Mu'azzam Khán's camp, Zu'lfaqár Khán dashed out pluckily with six or seven thousand men to the bridge and began to burn it. Thus they prevented the enemy crossing by this bridge. Had Zu'lfaqár Khán not done this, Sháh Shujá's army would have crossed this bridge also, and the result would have been disastrous to the imperial army. Mu'azzam Khán recovering himself followed the route taken by Sháh Shujá', and came to the lower bridge where Yakka Táz Khán had been killed. Isfandyár Khán, who held the bridge for Sháh Shujá', opposed his passage but was cut down. Sháh Shujá' hearing of Isfandyár Khán's death and Mu'azzam Khán's passage of the bridge, became alarmed for his own safety, and, not daring to resist any longer, fled with Sultán Muhammad, Ján Beg, and all his army towards the village of Katrah. Here he arrived with 400 horse. The enemy surrounded the village. When night set in, Mu'azzam Khán left the prey which had fallen into his net and returned to his tents, saying that experienced soldiers did not think it advisable to be entangled with an enemy, however contemptible, at night; that he could not now escape, and he would be surrounded and taken in the morning. Sháh Shujá' remained in Katrah that night and next day. His dispersed army came together from all sides. On the third day he marched from Katrah to Súti with

steadiness and deliberation. The imperial army followed. He arrived at Dukchi in eight or nine days, closely pursued by the enemy. He suddenly turned and renewed the fight. His pursuers, who were wholly unprepared, were compelled to fight. The fight began about midday between noon and sunset. Four thousand picked men had come up and others were arriving. Zu'lfagár Khán who had three hundred irregular cavalry with him confronted Sháh Shujá', and Fidá'i Khán who had two hundred horse assisted him. Islám Khán and others coming up into position on a high ground were secure. Mu'azzam Khán, who had command of the centre, passed beyond Zu'lfagár Khán towards Islám Khán, and there stationed himself. The fight lasted to midnight. Sháh Shujá' three times charged the enemy with great determination, but was met by showers of arrows and artillery fire and repulsed. After midnight, when ammunition fell short, both armies pitched their tents on the field. By morning the imperial army had come up in great force both cannon and soldiers. Sháh Shujá' considered his position untenable and retreated to Tándah. The imperial army retired to Rájmahal. Islám Khán and other officers occupied Dukchi with 5,000 horse. Dá'úd Khán, who was posted at Garhi, could not cross, being held in check by Khwája Mastagi. He now attacked and drove back Khwája Mastagi, who withdrew to join Sháh Shujá'. After this battle Mukhlis Khán and 'Abdullah Khán Shírázi arrived with 2,000 cavalry and joined the imperial camp. Diler Khán, coming from Dukchi with 2,000 horse and followers in fighting order, joined Dá'úd Khán and Rashíd Khán at a distance of four miles from Dukchi. As Dá'úd Khán had brought some small boats from Patna, he put his force over on

them, and advancing fourteen miles pitched his camp at Máldah on the banks of the river.

At this time Sultán Muhammad, becoming distrustful of Sháh Shujá' on account of some misconduct of his own, left him in the same way that he had gone to him. Sultán Muhammad leaves Sháh Shujá'. He had written previously to Islám Khán asking for a promise of safety to be given him in the emperor's name, and he now went direct to his tent. Other historians tell us that great confusion prevailed in the imperial army when Sultán Muhammad left it, but that by able management, Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán brought officers and men together and they determined to continue the campaign. Thus it went on until Sháh Shujá's servants took from a courier an artful letter written by 'Alamgír to Sultán Muhammad and gave it to Sháh Shujá'. When he read the letter he believed that Sultán Muhammad had come to him not for his assistance, but to play into 'Alamgír's hands. The letter contained the following:—"My dear son,—you left with the promise that soon, in the shortest possible time, you would by some means or other capture your uncle dead or alive, and relieve my mind of anxiety about his intrigues. As yet there is no result of your promise." Sháh Shujá' seeing this letter became filled with suspicions and concluded that this was the true aspect of the case. Although Sultán Muhammad swore vehemently and appealed to Sháh Shujá' that he had known his brother from his infancy and must be aware of his character, his cunning and his wiles, it was of no avail. As he had lately given his daughter in marriage to Sultán Muhammad, he would not take his life, but placed him in a boat at night.

and sent him away. When Sultán Muhammad arrived with a few servants on the other bank of the river, Mír Jumla Khán Khánán came to receive him and conducted him to his tent. An order came to send Sultán Muhammad to 'Alamgir. So Mu'azzam Khán placed Zu'lfagár Khán, and Fidá'i Khán in charge of him to escort him to court. Zu'lfagár Khán fell ill on the road and was compelled to remain at Allahábád. Fidá'i Khán placed Sultán Muhammad in a palankeen and, using all due precautions, went on with him. When they came to Kampila and Patiáli, Marhamat Khán, who had been despatched to bring in the prince, met them. Fidá'i Khán by the imperial order placed fetters on the prince, who after a few months was imprisoned in the fort of Gwáliár.

Two months after Sultán Muhammad's departure Mu'azzam Khán crossed the river-channel at Máldah, but about 3,000 men were drowned in the passage. Sháh Shujá' hearing that the imperial army had crossed, got into a boat with forty or fifty attendants and fled to Dháka in great confusion. All his property and baggage remained behind. Mu'azzam Khán seized all and sent it in Akhlás Khán Khweshgi's charge to court. Islám Khán, before crossing the river at Máldah, fearing some evil from Mu'azzam Khán, left him and returned to 'Alamgir. Mukhlis Khán stayed with his followers at Rájmahal, as advised by Mu'azzam Khán, while the latter himself with his army set out for Dháka.

Sháh Shujá', on the nearer approach of the imperial army, relinquishing all hopes of sovereignty, determined to proceed to Makkah. Accompanied by the forty or fifty followers who remained true to him, he went with

Disappearance of
Sháh Shujá' and all
trace of him lost.

his family in a boat to Arakhang (Aracan). His servants, who had come to Dháka, had under the pressure of haste been compelled to leave behind them all his stores and commissariat. Mu'azzam Khán confiscated all and sent them to the court. They say that when Sháh Shujá' was flying and 'Álamgír's army was pursuing him, he wrote the following verses, and often wept over his hapless reverse :—

Wrath is my guest and anguish shares my rest,
 Pain is my solace ; death is in my rear,
 Hope lies beyond ; regret pervades my breast :
 Fine king am I that rule a realm of fear,
 Fine pomp attends my steps : around turmoils
 And on my right and left salute me toils.

He had had with him immense wealth, a vast retinue, and countless paraphernalia of pomp : and he always kept about a thousand armoured elephants ready when in the field ; and his batteries which were chained round his encampment extended twelve miles. The treasures he had amassed during the years he administered Bengál pass computation. The surroundings of each of his courtiers might have been the envy of kings. When fortune turned against him, he sustained his first loss at the hands of Sulaimán Shikoh, son of Dará Shikoh, owing to neglect of that caution which is an essential of government, and he fled without a struggle and sacrificed his baggage to save his life : and again, when he faced his brother in critical encounter, he was led by the deep treachery of Illahwirdi Khán to take the fatal move taken before by Dará Shikoh and leave his elephant to mount a horse, and the error proved disastrous to him, and 'Álamgír with a smaller force won the day by sheer firmness and became the undisputed Emperor of India.

When Sulaimán Shikoh defeated his uncle Sháh Shujá' contrary to expectation, and pursued him to Múngír, the first stage within Bengál, and besieged the fort of Múngír, Dará Shikoh informed Sháhjahán of the victory. The latter, moved to tears of regret inasmuch as love is blind to faults, said to Dará Shikoh : " I congratulate you that " your son has won and my son has lost and become a " fugitive. What joy can I have under such circumstances ? " But Dará Shikoh, for whom all was to end so bitterly, was as elated as if he had gained all his ends, when suddenly intelligence was brought from the Dakhin that 'Álamgír and Sultán Murád Bakhs had joined forces and were marching north ; and Dará Shikoh, downcast by this alarming announcement, sent Mabárája Jaswant Singh, one of the noble Rájás of India, and a leading chief among the members of the impèrial court, with 90,000 horse and some celebrated nobles to check their advance. An encounter took place on the other side of Ujjain in Málwa, as already related. Dará Shikoh sent a letter to Sulaimán Shikoh recalling him from the siege of his uncle Sháh Shujá', and directing him to return to him as soon as possible. Sulaimán Shikoh raised the siege of Múngír and returned, but unfortunately on the day that he marched from Allahábád and halted twelve miles from the city, news came of the defeat of Dará Shikoh and 'Álamgír's victory. A week later he heard of the imprisonment of Sháhjahán by 'Álamgír. Hereupon Mírza Rája Jai Singh, who was one of the greatest Rájput chiefs, and Diler Khán Afghán conferred together and sent a message to Sulaimán Shikoh saying that, as the Emperor Sháhjahán when send-

ing him out had placed his hand in theirs and charged them to protect him, they thought it would be dishonourable to send him captive to 'Álamgír who had conquered India: and they advised him to escape while he had time to a place beyond the reach of 'Álamgír's army. Sulaimán Shikoh, on receiving this message from two supporters by whose help he had formerly gained a great victory, became horror-struck and lost all self-control. Having no further confidence or hope of help in these companions, he was like a drowning man catching at straws. He fled and, to keep in humour his disloyal and perfidious servants, plundered some towns and villages, hoping to hold them together by the prospect of loot. He turned in every direction for aid but was everywhere met with a repulse. His soldiers were drawing their pay in advance and yet deserting him. He determined if possible to join his father and the events followed which have been already related ending in his flight to Srinagar, where he was received by Rájá Pirthi Singh.

After two years and some months had elapsed Rájá Jai Singh, at the instigation of 'Álamgír, sent a message to the Rájá of Srinagar advising him to surrender Sulaimán Shikoh, if he wished to save his country from the imperial wrath. The rája, blind to honour, showed himself spiritless, expressed a ready compliance and sent the prince and his son prisoners to court on 5th Jamádi, ul-awwal 1070 A.H. [1660 A.D.], (the third year of 'Álamgír's reign) and himself appropriated all the jewels, money, robes, and other property which the prince had brought with him, when he had taken refuge with the mountain demon.*

* Here I omit some verses composed by this prince while on the journey to court a captive.

When he was brought before 'Álamgír, the order given was that he should be imprisoned for life in the fort of Gwáliár. He was conveyed there and according to the rules of the prison condemned to drink poppy oil* daily, but every morning, when the warders had administered the dose, he went immediately into his harem and vomited and thus saved himself from its fatal effects, though the daily dose was increased until at last it attained an extreme magnitude. It happened one day that 'Álamgír sent a painter to the fort to paint for him the portraits of the imprisoned princes. When the portraits were placed before 'Álamgír, he observed that the appearances of all the other princes had been changed beyond recognition by the use of the poppy oil, except Sulaimán Shikoh's, whose picture showed him as before, strong and hale with look and form unchanged. Accordingly he sent orders to the jailors that they should detain Sulaimán Shikoh outside his harem for some hours after giving him the oil, and not permit him to go at once into his harem and save himself from its effects by vomiting. On receiving this fatal order the jailors kept the prince outside the harem for four hours after giving him his dose, which had by that time come to exceed three Sháhjaháni pounds. As this vast quantity of poison entered his system at one time, he was at once stupefied and, being without medical aid, died that day.

Mu'azzam Khán, after driving Sháh Shujá' from Bengál, established himself there, and determined to conquer Ashám. This large province is situated north of Bengál and had for a

* "Kóknár:" the oil extracted from poppy heads by bruising and boiling after the opium has been removed from them.

long period escaped the ravages of the army of Bengál, and no past or present ruler had determined on its acquisition. The Khán entered the country with little exertion, and the ruler of the province, although he had large forces and materials of defence, did not venture to oppose him, but fled to the mountains and took refuge in defiles. On account of the inclemency of the mountain climate various severe diseases spread among his troops, and many of them were carried off. In the same way the imperial army also suffered in Ashám and numbers were invalided. Notwithstanding this Mu'azzam Khán held his position in the country for a year, until he was himself struck down by a fatal disease, and perceiving this made overtures to the enemy. Having conferred some obligations on the ruler of the country, who was a wanderer in the mountains, he imposed a resonable tribute and quitted the province. He returned to Bengál where he died on Wednesday, the 2nd Ramzán, 1070 A.H. [1660 A.D.].

On the 3rd of Sha'bán, 1073 A.H. [1663 A.D.], 'Álamgír fell ill and his illness lasted to the 1st of Ramzán in the same year, but during this period his arrangements were so perfect that no disturbances arose.

From the time of Akbar it had been an established custom that all the household stewards, chief officers of the treasury, wardrobe, kitchen, camp equipage, elephant stalls, stables, and so forth, were appointed direct by the emperor to the establishments of all princes and their sons. In this way 'Ali Naqí, a man of great experience as a household steward, had been appointed by Sháhjahán to Sultán Murád Bakhsh's staff, when he was made governor of

Gujrát: but he did not entertain friendly feelings towards the prince. There were constant unpleasantnesses between them which ended badly. Ill-feeling on each side reached such a pitch that untimely words resulted. 'Ali Naqí, who was naturally bold and rash, and had been sent by the emperor, bade good-bye to caution and wholly ceased to show deference to the prince. The prince was more imperious and fearless than any of his brothers, and was on the look-out for an opportunity to catch 'Ali Naqí tripping, which occurred when a wordy squabble arose between the prince's private servants and 'Ali Naqí, ending in a house-fight and fisticuffs. 'Ali Naqí in the heat of the fight and wrangling uttered some offensive expression and was killed. The emperor, when he heard of this fool-hardiness, rebuked the prince but winked at his conduct. As he was his son, and the murderers were a large body, circumstances led him to overlook the crime. Now, when the prince was in imprisonment at Gwáliár, 'Ali Naqí's sons embraced the opportunity of charging him with the murder of their father. 'Alamgír sent them with Khwája Phúl to Gwáliár, and ordered him to put Sultán Murád Bakhsh to death after due proof. When they arrived in Gwáliár they laid the case before the qázi. The prince replied: "If the emperor had regard for his promises and pledges and spared my unfortunate life, there would be no danger to his empire: if he is determined at all hazards to end my profitless life, is it any kindness to put forward base men like these as an excuse? Let him do what he pleases." Thereupon at the qázi's order, on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 21st of Rabí'uṣṣání, 1070 A.H. [1660 A.D.], two slaves killed the prince with two sword-cuts. He was buried in the fort. Sulaiman Shikoh

was buried beside him on the 12th of Shawwál, 1072 A.H. [1662 A.D.], being in his thirtieth year when he died.

Sháhjahán bore all his afflictions with resignation and patience, receiving them as visitations from the hand of God, and to the last neither his heart rebelled nor was his brow wrinkled. During the seven years which he passed in seclusion his loyal friends and he himself suffered many indignities and troubles, on which respect for his memory forbids me to dwell. I pass to the narrative of his death. During the whole seven years of his imprisonment in the Fort at Akbarábád he was constantly attended by Saiyad Fázil and Mír Saiyad Muhammad Qanaují, men of great piety and sanctity, whose duty it was to expound passages of the Qurán and traditions of the Prophet for the benefit of those who met here, and Sháhjahán relieved the necessities of the poor. His time was spent in religious exercises, reading the Qurán, copying passages from it, counting his beads, hearing traditions and tales regarding holy men of old. Curiously enough, he used frequently to make use of expressions referring to severance from the connections of this world and to death and departure from this temporary and transitory stage as a cause of pleasure and satisfaction, and yet dread and abhorrence possessed his heart. On Sunday, the 11th of Rajab, 1076 A.H. [1666 A.D.], the beginning of the solar year 1075, when he was seventy-six years three months and twenty-five days old by the lunar reckoning, he rubbed his body with oil prepared by Bízqullah, son of Muqarrab Khán, which caused such a heat in his system that stricture and gripes ensued. For fifteen days he was confined to his bed, and although after nine days under

the treatment of Surgeon Bindrāban, the disease disappeared, he was so reduced by its effects that his strength wholly failed. His lips and mouth were dried up by the frequent use of cold drinks and he sank daily. He knew that he was dying and made arrangements for his funeral, and committed to his imperial Begam's affectionate care his daughter, Purbunr Bānu Begam, his eldest child, born to him of the daughter of Mírza Muzaffar Husen Safwi, and Akbarábádi Mahal and his other wives. After a declaration of his will and some farewells he comforted and consoled his consort with assurances of his love. He then asked her to recite some passages of the Qurán for him, and he responded, reciting his confession of faith with deep emotion. When the words: "Our God, give unto us in this world good, and in the world to come good, and save us from the pains of hell," had been repeated, he passed away at about 9 P.M. on Monday, the 26th Rajab.

Bānu Begam, out of respect to her father's memory, wished to have his remains carried after sunrise on the following morning with great pomp and ceremony to the Tájj, that noble building on the banks of the Jamna, which is truly "an Eden watered by quiet streams," and which he had spent twenty years of his life in building at a cost of fifty lakhs of rupees. Truly it was befitting and even due to the dead that nobles and courtiers should bear his bier on their shoulders from the palace to the mausoleum with all honour and reverence, and by this supreme service they would have gained honour; and the nobles and citizens, high and low, of Akbarábád and the country round, and the learned and the accomplished, the pious and the devout, and the judges, would have gathered barefooted and

bareheaded round the venerable corpse, and their voices, as they confessed their faith, counted their beads, and cried, "Allah! Allah!" "Allah Akbar!" "Alhamdu-l'lláhi," would have echoed in the vault of heaven: and the gold and the silver scattered on all sides of the bier for the repose of the dead would have been a vast heap of treasure, which rich and poor might alike have shared. But, as 'Álamgír was at Sháhjahánábád and the Begam was powerless and dependent on others, a few friends carried the corpse out by the staircase of the Sháhbunj to the Táj, read the prayers for the dead, dug a grave, and committed it to the earth at noon.*

The compiler of these pages has read in a book, the name of which he cannot now remember, and has also heard from trustworthy contemporaries of 'Álamgír, that when Sháhjahán perceived that he was dying, and that he could not recover, he said to Mír Saiyad Muhámmad Qanauji: "You have never failed in your services, attendance, and friendship for me, and now that I am departing, I am pleased with you beyond measure. I am at a loss to think how I can reward you. If you have any wish, tell me frankly, so that I may gratify it, if I have the power." The Saiyad stood up and wept, and kissed the emperor's feet, and said: "I have no desire in this world but that Your Majesty should live and this is out of your power: but there is one matter in your power of which I dare not speak. If you will not be displeased I shall state it in hope and fear." The emperor replied: "Except the forgiveness of the crimes of that shameless fellow, you can freely and unreservedly ask anything." The Saiyad remained

* I have curtailed a very extravagant description of the Táj.

silent for a while and then repeated a couplet from Háfiz :—

“No need within thy court my wish to tell :
No secret from thy seeing eye is hid.”

The emperor hung down his head for a short time and then said: “Well, now that I am leaving this transitory world, and I shall never again have anything to do with its government, and in the hereafter I shall gain nothing by this course, then why should I disappoint the heart of a sympathizing friend like you? And your good name will on this account go down to posterity for centuries to come and live in the memory of men. Bismillah! O God, for the sake of Saiyad Muhammad, Thy chosen servant, I have overlooked the crimes of Muhammad Mubai’y’uddín Aurangzeb, my son, and I have forgiven him from the bottom of my heart. Thou Who art merciful and forgiving wilt not hold him guilty, and wilt not punish him because of the afflictions of my heart. If there be ought between Thee and him, Thou knowest.” Mír Saiyad Muhammad could not contain himself with joy when he heard this marvellous expression of forgiveness, which quite passed the bounds of his comprehension. When ‘Alamgír heard of this, he wrote to the Saiyad sending him a farmán conferring upon him some mua’fi villages in his native place, and other marks of favour, with this line of poetry :—

“Thine is this act, and thus the righteous work.”

They say that Mír Saiyad Muhammad withdrew from the service of kings and retired in comfort to his native place. Here he built a spacious sarái for the accommodation of travellers, so durable and massive that up to the date of this work (1233 A.H.) [1817 A.D.]

it has suffered do decay. The author has himself seen it. The Saiyad passed the rest of his days in religious exercises.

Historical records show that Sháhjahán had twelve children:—

(1) The eldest, Púrhunr Bánu Begam, born in 1017 A.H. [1608 A.D.] of Qandahári Mahal, daughter of Mírza Muzaffar Husen Safwi.

(2) Húru'nnisa Begam, born in 1022 A.H. [1613 A.D.]

(3) Jahánará Begam, known as Begam Sáhib, the most loved of all his daughters, who held a jágír of maháls yielding ten millions of rupees, so wise and sagacious that the emperor and his ministers sought her counsels in affairs of state, born in 1024 A. H. [1615 A.D.].

(4) Sultán Dára Shikoh, born at the close of 1024 A.H. [1616 A.D.].

(5) Sultán Muhammad Shujá', born in 1025 A.H. [1616 A.D.].

(6) Roshanará Begam, born in 1026 A.H. [1617 A.D.].

(7) Muhammad Aurangzeb, born in 1029 A.H. [1617 A.D.].

(8) Ummed Bakshsh, born in 1029 A H. [1618 A.D.].

(9) A son born in Shádiábád, who died before he received a name.

(10) Suraiya Bánu Begam, born in 1030 A.H. [1620 A.D.].

(11) Sultán Murád Bakshsh, born in 1037 A.H. [1627 A.D.].

(12) Sultán Daulat Afzá, born in 1037 A.H. [1628 A.D.].

In the second year of 'Álamgír's reign Sháh 'Abbás, the mad King of Persia, sent him a letter congratulating him on his accession and asking for some assistance. To this 'Álamgír replied by a letter couched in ambiguous terms which held out no encouragement.* He sent this letter with Nawáb Tarbiyat Khán to the Persian monarch, and despatched with him some presents for the king when dismissing the Persian envoys. 'Álamgír had addressed the King of Persia on the envelope as Wálí of Yrán and not as Sháh, and this gave him such great offence that he treated the Hindústáni envoys with great disrespect; and when he dismissed Tarbiyat Khán to return to India after a few years, he gave him a letter drafted in the most arrogant tone, casting up to 'Álamgír his misbehaviour towards his father and brothers, repeating stories he had heard of his misgovernment and of the menaces of the Marhattas, and offering him an asylum in Persian territory. 'Álamgír became acquainted with the contents of the letter through some informers before its delivery, and he sent orders that Tarbiyat Khán should not be admitted to his presence, but should merely send on the Persian monarch's letter and presents. When the emperor read the insulting letter, he ordered that three hundred 'Iráqí horses which had been sent him by the Persian king should be killed in front of the houses occupied by officers of Yráni extraction. Such splendid horses had never before reached Hindústán

* These letters may be omitted.

from 'Iráq. The emperor then proposed to kill all 'Irání nobles who were at his court, but they fortified their houses and resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they could.

Táhir Khán and Qubád Khán, who were then the leading Túrání officers, when they discovered the emperor's intention, represented to him that ever since the days of Bábar the Persian rulers had kept a greedy eye fixed on India, and that Sháh 'Abbás had merely sought to pick a quarrel and have a pretence for an attack on India; that the 'Irání and Túrání nobles were now the only true friends and supporters of the Indian empire, and, if they were arrayed against one another, the Afgháns, who were the natural enemies of India and biding an opportunity, would take advantage of the occasion and attack India. The emperor saw the truth of this wholesome advice, sent for Ja'far Khán, who was then prime minister, and embraced him and dissipated all his fears. He then told him to bring to him Muhammad Amín Khán, son of Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán, who was the Imperial Paymaster and Commander-in-chief. When he came, the emperor conferred on him a special robe of honour and other marks of favour, and thus relieved him of his apprehensions.

The emperor now massed a large force for the invasion of Persia and sent ahead his eldest son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahádur Sháh, in command. Not long after he himself also turned his face toward Isfahán. Sháh 'Abbás on his part, when he heard of 'Álamgír's preparations, set out with a formidable army from Isfahán. He formed a camp near Khurásán, the centre of his dominions. His nobles, who saw in his vagaries the

prospect of a useless waste of life and were afraid of 'Álamgír's ravages, conspired with his uncle and poisoned him. They then placed his son, Sháh Sulaimán, on the throne, and sent a letter, dictated by the uncle whom they had invoked, to 'Álamgír announcing the death of Sháh 'Abbás, and appealing to him to spare the young king. When 'Álamgír read this letter, he resolved to spare the Persian kingdom, and he sent an order to Sháh 'Álam Sháh, directing him not to advance beyond Kábul and telling him to return, if he had advanced; but to his last breath he cherished the design of adding Persia to his dominions. His hands were, however, fully engaged with the affairs of the Dakhin, dealing first with the Marhattas, and then with three kings, Malik 'Ambar Nizám Sháhi, Tána Sháh, and the Bījápur ruler, so that he was never free from treublés in that quarter till the day he died.

When 'Álamgír marched from Hasan 'Abdál to Sháhjahánábád, finding that the Rájputs had in his absence wavered in their allegiance, he determined to chastise them on his return to Sháhjahánábád. This was in the twenty-second year of his reign. When he arrived at Ajmír, he deputed his sons to expel the Rána and distributed his territory among them, directing them to lay it waste with war, and close in round him, so as to leave him no resource or refuge but with the emperor. Accordingly Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh on one side, Muhammad 'Ázam Sháh on another, and Sultán Muhammad Akbar on a third side, invaded the Rána's country to chastise him: and they harassed him so on every side that he was compelled to leave his capital, Udaipur, in great confusion, and take refuge in an almost inaccessible range of

History of Akbar, which is not without interest.

fifty-six winding hills, the only approach to which lay through a dark defile. Here he lodged himself, his companions, and his army in safety after much hardship. It had been the custom from of old for them to take shelter here when any Musalmán general attacked them. They say that about 100,000 men entered this asylum with the Rána, but as there is here no grass or water, save some poisonous vegetation and brackish water, the sudden change of climate proved fatal to great numbers of them. Sultán Akbar, who had arrived in advance of the other princes at the mouth of the pass, became a van as it were for the encounter. He advanced daily and daily. The beleaguered force was reduced to greater straits. The other princes were in other parts of the Rána's territory, far from each other, defending the posts entrusted to them and ignorant each of what was passing with the other. The Rána, driven into a corner, artfully sued for peace and wheedled Sultán Akbar by siren enchantments, telling him: "You have twenty thousand seasoned horsemen, and nobles and confidants of the emperor are round you; I am your slave and have one hundred thousand horse and foot, all tried men, ready to obey and follow. It is better for you now to ascend the throne, because all the imperial army and the other princes are scattered far and wide and separated from each other, and 'Alamgír has not more than two hundred horse with him, many of them being eunuchs and clerks. The army is not so attached to your father as to stand by him in battle." Sultán Akbar, misled by this foolish idea, conspired with some shortsighted and disloyal nobles who were in close intimacy with him, broke into rebellion, and read the *khutba* and coined money in his own name. After a formality of accession,

to sovereignty, he moved with 50,000 Rájputs and 20,000 of his own army and other rebels towards the emperor's camp. 'Álamgír, when he heard this startling report, marched undaunted with two hundred of his household servants to exterminate this son, who had severed himself from his father. Fortunately for 'Álamgír, Sultán Akbar halted two or three times on his march, and meanwhile many of the imperial army gathered round him. Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh, when he heard of his brother's movements, marched fourteen stages in three days and joined the emperor. The brave 'Álamgír, on hearing of the advance of Bahádur Sháh, sent him this message by a slave: "As you have advanced thus unseasonably without my permission, if your object is to attack me treacherously like your younger brother, I have no fear. Add your quiver to your brother's. If your intention in this expeditious movement be to show true allegiance and prove the sincerity of your attachment to me, you must come into the imperial presence with folded hands and without your army." Bahádur Sháh, when he heard his father's message, complied. By the emperor's order Sultán Muhammad Kám Bakhs and Asad Khán, the wazír, went to meet him and escorted him to the emperor. 'Álamgír convinced of the staunch fidelity of his son, embraced him and said: "My son, Muhammad Mu'azzam, you have to-day been like a father to me, not a son." After enquiries as to each other's affairs, father and son, who were matchless masters of resource, consulted together. They wrote an artful letter and sent it to Sultán Akbar, and instructed the bearer of the letter to pass first through the Rájput contingent, which was the advanced arm of Sultán Akbar's forces, and to cause it to be

believed by that misleading and misled body that Sultán Akbar was in complete unison with his father. The purport of the letter was as follows:—

“Be it known to Sultán Muhammad Akbar by these presents: The attainment of our important designs and high objects appeared to us impossible to realize by any other plan than that adopted by him. Such wonderful luck as to have all hostile leaders brought together in one place was perfectly impossible. Hurrah! a thousand hurrahs for the ability of the son who tamed these savages who had escaped the net and has made them obedient to himself. As they have entangled themselves in the net, to-morrow morning (D. V.), as soon as the sun rises, our son on that side and our victorious army on this side will close in round them as on the centre of a circle and attack them. It is necessary that our son should exert himself to the utmost, so that not one of them may escape, and not a trace of this rebel rabble may remain.”

When the courier arrived, as had been agreed, in the camp of the ignorant Rájputs, he assumed the rôle of a spy and conducted himself so as to confirm the belief that he was one. Their leaders gathered round him and opened the artful letter. The moment they knew the contents, they raised cries of alarm and regret and fled to their homes in utter confusion. Although ill-starred Sultán Akbar, when he was informed of this strange occurrence, sent many messages to the Rájput chiefs, explaining to them that this was all a stratagem of ‘Álamgír’s, the deluded Rájputs were so convinced of the understanding between father and son that they would not return. The prince, despairing, followed the

example of the terror-stricken Rájputs and fled with his harem early, before daybreak ; and in his hurried flight left behind him all his money, provisions, and equipments to be plundered. What escaped plunder was confiscated by 'Álamgír. Sultán Akbar as a last chance, deeming it enough to save his life only, fled head and ears. When 'Álamgír found that his artful arrow had hit the mark, he sent his eldest son, Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh, to pursue the fugitive, and despatched with him a large force : and not long after he himself deferred the lame affair of the Rána and joined in the chase. In a short time Sultán Akbar entered the south of the Dakhin, with his pursuers at his heels. They say that, wherever the prince went, he was closely pursued by the imperial army and the land was darkened by devastation. At last, driven by necessity, he took refuge in a fort with Santa, son of Sivají. Santa welcomed the prince, and, although he had lost everything, did not decline to assist him, and remained firm in the face of apprehensions and threats.

Historians have written fully about the ancestors of Santa and have traced his genealogy back to Nushírwán. The Ránas of Udaipur are his relatives. Santa's grandfather having quarrelled with his brothers, left Udaipur and settled in the Dakhin at the town of Marhat and hence was called Marhatta.

It is reported that, when Khwája Bakhtáwar Khán Sháhjaháni had written the history of ten years of 'Álamgír's reign, the emperor heard it and ordered him to end with what he had written, saying : " As my actions are not fit to be recorded, let no one hereafter attempt

"it." For this reason no one has written during 'Álamgír's lifetime the affairs of his remaining forty-one years. After his death Musta'id Khán, an officer of small degree, wrote a brief epitome in the time of Bahádur Sháh, giving years and months. It is also said that another person wrote a detailed account of forty years, but as that work has not been seen by the compiler, he here records only such miscellaneous facts as he has heard or read, and, indeed, the memory of 'Álamgír's deeds is still so fresh that there is no need to recall them here; but two or three salient facts and points will be noted for the instruction of those who read these pages.

A trustworthy authority, a man of great historical research, narrates the following:—

Imprisonment of Sul-
tán Muhammad Mu-
'azzam Bahádur Sháh.

When the war with Abu'lHasan Tána Sháh had continued for a long period, and the soldiers and officers were despondent, it is said that Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahádur Sháh advanced close to the enemy's fort with a large army, entrenched himself, and laid out a camp. On account of their common belief in the twelve Imáms,* he had some secret understanding with Abu'lHasan. He wrote a letter one day to Abu'lHasan to the effect that, if Abu'lHasan's men would that night come out of the fort on pretence of a night attack and fall on his men, he would come out of his tent, join them and enter the fort; after that they would take whatever course they agreed upon. Nawáb Saif Khán Panjábí, who was posted in an entrenchment, fortunately caught the spy with the letter. He at once left his entrenchment and hurried to the emperor. As he had come without per-

* Bahádur Sháh had turned Shí'a.

mission, the emperor knew he had not left his post without some good reason. The emperor ordered him to be admitted. He delivered the letter signed and sealed by the prince to the emperor, who read and studied it carefully and put it in his pocket. He said to the Khán in great anger : 'How dare you cast on the prince an imputation of treachery? If you do the like you will be reduced from your rank and be rewarded with a punishment for your conduct. Why have you left the entrenchment without my orders? My dear sons are far from conceiving such wild schemes.' The unlucky Khán, ashamed and confused, returned terror-stricken and dismayed to this entrenchment. The emperor in the afternoon, when he had prayed, came out of his tent, took up a bow and began to discharge arrows at marks; and, doing so, struck out in the direction of Bahádur Sháh's tent. Each arrow that he discharged he lifted with his own hands. In this walk he was followed by two or three thousand officers and men who joined him as he went, until he arrived near Bahádur Sháh's tent. The prince came out disconcerted to receive him, and taking him by the hand brought him in and seated him on the state cushion. He then presented a *nazr* to him and stood with folded hands. 'Álamgír desiring to be alone with the prince ordered all his men out. No one remained but the father and his son. When they were alone, the emperor said : "I have heard that that Ráfizi* is contemplating a night attack

* Ráfizi, a name applied to a branch of the Shí'a sect who, where they had created Saiyad, son of 'Ali Asghar, son of Husain, son of 'Ali, emperor, demanded that he should renounce 'Usmán and 'Umar, but deserted him on his refusing to do so. The term is now used by Sunnis contemptuously for Shí'as in general, as they do not acknowledge the three first Khalífas.

"on you." The prince replied, "True; I have heard the same, but he will get a reply that will break his teeth." The emperor asked, "How many soldiers have you?" The prince answered, "Fifty or sixty thousand." "Soldiers, I said," remarked the emperor: and the prince said, "Ten or fifteen thousand." He put the question a third time and the prince was astonished; but the emperor said, "By soldiers, I mean men who will not move from their post though earth quaked under their feet." The prince answered him: "In all there might be found a thousand or five hundred such, if picked out." The emperor ordered him to bring them before him. The prince went out of the tent and picked out the tried men on whom he could rely, and drew them up. The emperor himself went out on foot from the tent to the entrenchment and posted them some paces in front of it, and charged them to remain there all night like Alexander's wall. Though the earth should quake and lightning rain from heaven; though the prince or the emperor himself should call them, they were not to move till the end of night. They obeyed the order. The emperor returned to the tent, and, going into the retiring room on pretence of necessity, drew a knife from his pocket, cut the wall of the tent, came out, and directed his followers to surround the tent. There was a tent pitched at a little distance behind the imperial audience tent, and the prince was brought and carried in a palanquin and placed in that tent. He remained in imprisonment for nine years. They say that, on the 'Yds* and on Fridays and in public ceremonies, Bahádur Sháh used to sit on the emperor's right and 'Azím Sháh on his left; and, during Bahádur

* The 'Ydu'zzuha, when cattle are sacrificed, and 'Ydu'lifr at close of Ramzán, when the fast is broken.

Sháh's imprisonment, 'Azím, Sháh occupied the right and Kám Bakhsh the left. When, after nine years' imprisonment, Bahádur Sháh was released, he went on the 'Td into the 'Ydgáh, and took up the place of eldest son on the emperor's right. 'Azím Sháh, inflamed with anger, came boldly forward and attempted to place himself between his father and his eldest brother. The emperor, who had his head bowed in self-communion, caught the corner of 'Azím Sháh's garment with his left hand and pulled him down to his left. But the prince was in a very excited state and his look betrayed his animosity. The emperor, after performing his dugá-nah,* raised himself and leaned over on 'Azím Sháh's shoulder using it as a pillow, and thus tarried for a while in the place of prayer. 'Azím Sháh could not move. The emperor ordered Bahádur Sháh to start that moment for Kábul. When he had disappeared from sight in that wild spot, the emperor took 'Azím Sháh with him into the fort. If he had not done this, there would have been a protracted struggle between the two brothers.

Except a few Túrání nobles, all 'Alamgír's courtiers and nobles were Shí'as. And, as 'Alamgír's bigotry. Persians are polished and perform their duties with a greater nicety and finish than people of other races, there were many of them in the wazír's and pay-master's offices, in the imperial kitchens, and other household departments. They say that 'Alamgír was so bigoted a Sunní that, when any of them entered the imperial presence, no matter

* Dugá-nah, two successive prostrations made by Musalmáns in prayer at 'Td.

who he was, he used to say: 'Íráni ghol-i-biyábáni.' (A Persian is a demon of the desert). The courtiers were deeply wounded and had no remedy until the words were frequently used before Nawáb Asad Khán. The old wazír was stung and wrote a letter to Sháh Sulaimán, King of Persia, telling him how things stood and asking him to send some learned and eloquent controversialist with some learned companions on a pretended embassy with presents to 'Álamgír, who was himself a learned man and had fixed one day in the week to meet learned men and spend the whole day in debate with them on the interpretation of the Qurán and traditions of the Prophet ; and he expected that this learned man would prove the truth of the Shí'a tenets before the emperor, and thus the emperor's reproaches and hatred would cease. The King of Persia, although he had no interest in the matter, purely for the wazír's sake, sent a learned man of this class with presents to 'Álamgír. The king left the letter in the hands of the females of his harem. There were secret newswriters in Persia in the pay of the Emperor of Hindústán, and they were in the confidence of the king's retainers. A female servant accordingly took a copy of the letter and sent it with all details to 'Álamgír and informed him that a learned man, named Muḥammad Hasan, would start with his disciples on a certain date. The emperor sent at once orders to the Súbahdárs of Kábul, Multán, and Thatha, ordering them to go out four miles to meet an ambassador from Írán, who was coming to see him, and he gave instructions for his reception. When the ambassador arrived at Láhaur, the emperor ordered Fídáí Khán, the Súbahdár of Láhaur, to receive him with great kindness and contrive to bring about an interview

between him and Mían Sháh Mír Láhauri. When the ambassador arrived, he halted for some days. One day Fidá,i Khán said to him in the course of conversation, "There is in this city a famous sage named Mían Sháh Mír and the emperor is one of his disciples; if you will spare a moment to interview him, you will be much pleased with him." The Persian roundly answered, "I have no faith in such persons." The Nawáb was greatly mortified and hung down his head, saying, "In that case you will find it very difficult to interview the emperor." After much thought and reflection, he said to him, "The Shallah Már garden is well worth seeing. If you will go down there to-morrow and breakfast there, see the flower-beds and watercourses, you will be delighted with the scene." The Persian said he would go. They passed the whole of the next day there until evening. When turning the Nawáb instructed his footman, who was going in front of them, to lead them home by a route which would bring them to Sháh Mír's house. Here Fidá,i Khán drew rein and asked the illustrious Saiyad to go on, saying that he would follow in a few minutes; that this was the house of Mían Sháh Mír, and he did not like to pass without asking for him, lest he should incur the emperor's displeasure. The Saiyad said, "As I have come, let me see how is your Sháh Sáhib." They both dismounted and entered alone into the darwesh's house. The Sháh Sáhib was sitting with a disciple in the setting sun on a cane mat, and had in front of him a patched quilt from which he was busily picking fleas and bugs. The disciple announced the arrival of Fidá,i Khán. The darwesh threw the quilt aside, saluted Fidá,i Khán, and, calling for another mat, spread it in front of him and asked Fidá,i Khán to sit

down. He asked, "Who is this gentleman with you?" and the Súbahdár replied, "This is a noble Saiyad, a descendant of the Prophet, learned and able, who knows the Qurán by heart; a pious man and rigid observer of religious discipline, who is on his way to Sháhjahánábád, an ambassador from the King of Persia. A man of such distinction and accomplishments and of noble birth has never visited this country before; we people of Hindústán are fortunate to have the benefit of his society." On hearing this, the darwesh stretched out his hands and, rubbing them on the Persian's feet, kissed them and said, "I am very happy to have the pleasure of seeing this devout man." After this they made mutual inquiries and conversed a long time regarding the ceremonies connected with the pilgrimages to Makka and Madína, and the verification of traditions by the expounders of tradition residing there; and next the visit to sacred edifices such as the Karbalá-i-Mu'alla, Najaf Ashraf, and others. The darwesh earnestly pressed the Saiyad to state something of the virtues of Imám Husen, and the Saiyad replied that the smallest virtue is that, if any one die within a circle of twenty-four miles from his tomb and be buried there, he will be saved from the fire of hell. The darwesh said, "This is among the smallest virtues and excellences of that Imám. I should like to hear something greater than this." "By this," said the Saiyad, "you may form an idea of his other virtues, and that is enough." "True," said the darwesh, "and there is no doubt his excellences are thousands and thousands of degrees greater than you have stated. But are all these virtues of Imám Husen's and his influence with God his own directly or are they acquired

“through the Prophet?” “Sir,” said the Saiyad, “what, “is this question you ask quite beyond the sphere of Muhammadan speculation? This is not a matter which no one knows. Every schoolboy knows that he was the grandson of Muhammad. All his virtues and excellences are thus derived.” The darwesh replied, “If this virtue of the Imām be derived through the Prophet, then what is to be said for the man who dies and is buried within a span of the Prophet himself? Can he go to hell or not?” The Saiyad was silenced and could not reply. It was evening and the hour of sunset-prayer was come. The two visitors left. Next day the Saiyad wrote a letter to his sovereign, asking him to recall him and to send another of his subjects for the performance of the duty entrusted to him and to take the presents to the emperor. The king sent another to deliver the letter and the presents. When the Saiyad returned and appeared before his sovereign, he was asked why he returned unsuccessful. He replied that there were men of ability everywhere even in Hindústán, and that, if he had gone forward to the emperor, he might have sustained defeat in controversy and his disgrace would have been published far and wide.

It is reported that ‘Ālamgír had by faith and association with godly men, and by frequent practice in reading the Qurán and abstract contemplation, attained second-sight. When the learned ambassador had arrived at Láhaur, the emperor most mornings and evenings after prayer went into a state of abstraction and used to view the ghost * of Sháh Mír, confounding the ghost of

* The word used is barzakh, which primarily means the intermediate state between death and resurrection, and hence the spirit in that interval.

the Saiyad in their dispute. This apparition continued present to his imagination daily as long as the Saiyad was in Láhaur and until the emperor heard of his return.

There are three classes whose testimony adverse to 'Álamgír the historical authorities of Sháhjahánábád consider unreliable.

Sects and communities hostile to 'Álamgír.

The first are the Hindús, because he imposed on them a poll-tax and maintained it. Since the death of the Prophet and his K̄halífas it had never been heard that any of the Kings of Irán, Túrán, Rúm or Shám, notwithstanding their zeal for Islám, had imposed a poll-tax on unbelievers. The splendour of the rule of the 'Abbásis is known, and all that Sultán Muhammad Ghaznavi did in his zeal for the faith is known. The Afgháns first established the Musalmán rule in India, and then from Bábar to Sháhjahán there came five successive Mughal sovereigns, but they were solely concerned with the collection of land revenue, the promotion of justice, the pomp of sovereignty, the erection of buildings, and the mutual controversies of Muhammadan with Muhammadan, and their successes gained over one another, and their prescribed fastings and prayers; with them the propagation of the faith was not an object. This rôle exactly suited the character of 'Álamgír. In the twenty-two súbahs, wherever there was a Hindú temple, he erected a mosque over it, and appointed imáms and muazzins. In his time the Hindús, notwithstanding the alliance existing between the Rájás of Udaipur, Márwár, and Jainagar, dared not insult a Muhammadan of the lowest degree, or salute a Hindú prior to a Muhammadan. A second class are those mendicants who do not observe fasting and prayer, and who do not wear trousers. 'Álamgír ordered them

to put on tight drawers, and those who were so foolish as not to comply, he directed should be killed, and he sent thousands of them to hell. A third is the Shī'a sect. Although the majority of his officials belonged to this body, and there were but few Túrānis in his service, not one was bold enough to pray in public view without concealing his sect,* by outward conformity with the Sunnī customs. These three classes bear a strong hatred to 'Ālamgīr and allow not one iota of any kind as a set-off against his ill-treatment of his father and his brothers, and yet he did not commit one-tenth of the murders which the Kings of Persia committed of their brothers and relatives without any religious pretext, and of children and helpless women; but when the name of 'Ālamgīr is mentioned their blood boils and, blind to justice, they are ready to fight over him in their contempt for his character.

When 'Ālamgīr was himself punishing the Marhattas in the Dakhin, and the imperial army was hotly pursuing the enemy, who were eight or ten miles in front, suddenly a vast plain level as the palm of the hand, without height or hollows, and without trees or houses, burst on his view, and the emperor's route lay across it. On the right was seen a small brick fort. The outrider who was riding beside the emperor's throne was ordered to report on it. He spurred his horse and, riding round it, came and reported that this was a fort without a gate and round it outside, instead of lines for servants, was an elevated platform of

* Shī'as open their hands but Sunnis fold their arms in prayer. This passage means that Shī'as in 'Ālamgīr's time were so fearful of his bigoted resentment that they used to fold their arms like Sunnis, if they prayed in public. The word used for concealing their sect is *taqi'a*.

masonry as high as a man's head and four yards wide, and inside it four walls with four bastions, one at each corner, but he did not know what was inside. The emperor relinquished the pursuit of the enemy and turned towards the fort. He sent out messengers to the villages within a circle of twenty or twenty-five miles round about to bring in villagers. He inquired from them about the fort. All unanimously replied that they had heard from their forefathers that they know nothing of the origin of the fort, and it had been there for one or two hundred years. After a pause, he ordered them to take the ladders of his elephant howdahs and join them together and place them against the walls, and some of the camp followers to climb the ladders and see what was inside. There was no one courageous enough to risk his life, until an old officer of ninety years, who used to spend day and night in religious exercises, volunteered. He said, "Bismillah!"* and climbed the ladders. He reported that there was no building within the enclosure; that there was a clean-swept courtyard, level and without rubbish; that in the centre was a freshly-opened grave, seeming as if they had but that moment thrown out large and small clods with spades and shovels and left them lying all about; that there was a corpse of a man laid out near its mouth in a white winding sheet, with not a thread old or broken, and neither dust nor rain fallen on it. The drummers† were ordered to open a door in the wall. It was done. The army-qāzi and the old officer went in with the emperor,

* "In God's name," an invocation used by Muhammadans when beginning any undertaking.

† The MS. here has *ṭabl-dārān*, but the word *tabrdārān* (sappers and miners) would be preferable.

read the funeral prayer, and interred the corpse, laid planks in due form over the grave, and covered it with earth. Having thus made a proper tomb, they came out and closed up the opening in the wall. The emperor halted that day. Next morning, when the old officer went up the ladder again, he saw the corpse again at the mouth of the tomb, the earth as before all about. He was astonished. 'Alamgir went a second time, stood a moment beside the corpse and soliloquized: "Men are of the earth
"and from the time of Adam to the last Prophet all the
"prophets and saints have found their last resting-place
"in the earth. What is the meaning of this exception to
"the rule? If your object is to show your miraculous
"power after your death in this desert inside this enclosure, where there is no trace of man, who is there
"to witness it, for many long years have passed since
"any one has taken notice of this place? It is better
"for you not to come up again but to await the resurrection." They buried him again as before and left. On the third day the same thing occurred. By the qázir's decree a scourge was brought, and 'Alamgir, taking it in his hand, stood at the head of the corpse and thus addressed it: "Foolish and vain man, this
"is the third time that I tell you plainly what I have
"told you twice before. If to-morrow you will behave
"as you have done, I shall inflict on you a hundred
"lashes, strip your flesh and skin from your bones, tie
"your bones to an elephant and parade them through my
"camp, and level this fort and platform to the ground." They again interred him. On the fourth day, they found the grave undisturbed and masons were ordered to build a tomb of masonry. When this was done, they placed a wooden door in the wall, and the march was resumed.

The laudable actions and good qualities of Sháh Muha'y, u'ddin Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Álamgír Bádsháh Gházi are so great that a two-pointed pen* notwithstanding its double tongue* could not express even a part of them. From the beginning of his youth to his death he never neglected the five daily prayers, the fast of the Ramzán, and the giving of one-fifth in charity; and next to the true Khálifas it was he who gave fresh lustre to the Muhammadan faith. In all his conquests and notwithstanding the multitude of his enemies and the many prisoners he made, he never inflicted a punishment on a Musalmán without proof and the sanction of the Muhammadan Law. From Ghaznín and Qarra Bágh to Sankaldíp, a distance of more than four thousand miles, was trampled under the hoofs of his horses: he annexed the territory of three powerful kings of the Dakhin to his dominions; and he divided his vast possessions among his three sons. Bijápur and the territory connected with it he gave to his youngest son, Sultán Kám Baksh; all the Dakhin from the Narbada to Sankaldíp to Sultán 'Azím Sháh; and the whole of Hindústán from Kábul to Bengál and Orissa, Dháka, &c., to Sultán Mu'azzam Bahádur Sháh.† It is said that he had a written disposition of territory to this effect which he kept with him, so that the three princes might not fight after his death, but be content with this partition. But fortune ordered it otherwise, and the emperor's scheme proved abortive.

* Here is a pun on the Persian word 'do-zabáni.'

† This division roughly corresponds to the English division of three Presidencies: Bombay would represent Bijápur, and Madras the Dakhin, while Bengál Presidency is still unchanged, except that Kábul has ceased to be part of India.

Some days before his death the emperor sent his son Muhammad 'Azīm Shāh away from him on a journey and urged

'Ālamgīr's death.

his own course forward to Aurangābād in great haste. The prince, in compliance with his father's order, covered forty-five miles in twenty-four hours, but, fearing the increased violence of the chronic disease under which the emperor was suffering, he halted and awaited the issue with great impatience. Two or three days after Muhammad 'Azīm Shāh's departure, he sent Sultān Kām Bakhsh to Bijāpur, the government of which he had conferred on him, with some Tūrāni nobles, headed by Muhammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur, son of Fīroz Jang's paternal uncle. As this unfortunate prince was marching on this long journey, he suddenly received the news of his father's death. They say that the emperor suffered so severely with diarrhœa that he had not time to draw breath. Hakīm Hāziq Khān was in attendance and the emperor asked him to treat him, and inquired the cause of his illness. The doctor, who was off his guard, replied: 'There is no cause but the feebleness of old age.' The emperor was sharp enough to understand from this that his time had come and that his case was beyond the resources of medicine. He asked to be left alone, and summoned Nawāb Asad Khān, the grand wazīr, and sending for Nawāb Zebu'n-nisa Begam, who was his favorite child, to come unveiled from the harem, he placed her hand in Asad Khān's hand, and, having committed her to his charge, expired at Aurangābād on Friday, the 28th Zīqā'd, 1118 A. H. [1707 A. D.], and the chronogram of his death is 'Ālamgīr aurang rá zeb dād.'

When the news of the emperor's death spread in
 Events following Sultán Kám Bakhs's camp, the
 'Álamgír's death. Túrání nobles proved unfaithful and
 deserted the luckless prince, who had but a small force
 with him. Although he supplicated them to remain
 with him, they cruelly left him without an interview
 and joined Sultán Muhammad 'Azím Sháh, but even-
 tually they deserted that vindictive prince and retreated
 from the banks of the Narbada to Aurangábád.

It is said that, as soon as 'Álamgír died, his sons
 quarrelled for the empire and prepared to fight. Bahá-
 dur Sháh left Kábul with an innumerable army and
 artillery and other munitions of war, and set out for
 Sháhjahánábád. Muhammad 'Azím Sháh, after perform-
 ing his father's funeral obsequies, acted on the advice of
 Nawáb Asad Khán, wazír, and ascended the throne as his
 father's successor on the 10th Zihijh, the 'Yd-i-Qurbán.
 On the 15th of the same month he set out for Akharábád,
 but, owing to the rapidity of his marches and the want
 of conveyances, he left behind him at scattered places
 on his route all his artillery, the arm of war on which
 most reliance is to be placed in a fight for sovereignty
 in India. In his pride and haughtiness, from the very
 beginning of his reign, he showed himself so hasty,
 thoughtless, indeliberate, and shortsighted, that on the
 day that he arrived at Gwáliár, in the wisdom of his
 own eyes, he left Nawáb Asad Khán, 'Álamgír's wazír,
 behind him with all the ladies of the harem, and his sister,
 and Sultán Kám Bakhs's mother, with their heavy
 luggage at Gwáliár, and, without halting for one day
 to give a rest to those who had come so long a journey,
 marched at once without taking any precautions. Most
 of his soldiers, privates and officers, had endured many

hardships in a journey of four months from the beginning of the hot season to the beginning of the rains, and when he turned to Akbarábád, he had only 40,000 horse with him, about a fourth part of his total strength. Bahádur Sháh sent him two friendly letters during the course of his march. The first is as follows :—

“My dear brother,—Authorities on the Law have figuratively termed a father a lord, Bahádur Sháh’s letters to ‘Azím Sháh before fighting. “and in truth our father was lord of this kingdom. When he had “with his own hand before his death drawn up a list “partitioning the empire, he made as it were a divine “allotment, to prevent disputes among us, and thus “pointed out to us the path of safety. It is under these “circumstances incumbent on my esteemed brother to rest “satisfied with his father’s allotment, and thus cut off “all cause of quarrel, and not to harass the life of this “humble father of a large family, but to evince that “fraternity and humanity which are due to his kindred, “and quench the fire of wrath. Peace be with you.”

The second letter, the one he sent to ‘Azím Sháh on the day that he arrived in Gwáliár, was as follows :—

“My dear brother,—I write in the hope of prolonging for us the chances of this brief and transitory life, “of which in my case sixty-six full years, and in yours “fifty-six have passed. We know full well that our “previous days of pleasure have fled like the wild deer “startled by the shadows of suspicion, or by the movement of an eye, and now the dust of old age alone is “left us, like the dust raised behind her by the startled “deer. In this case we must now, falling and rising, “follow behind the caravan, clapping our hands to signal

“those who have gone ahead. As the exigencies of time have brought us both to this pass, it is better that you should be satisfied with the partition which our venerable father made, and root out the thorn of malice from the garden of your heart, and so prevent a world of blood staining the plains of death.

“Although God has given me a numerous family, and my father was kind enough to release me from an imprisonment which had already lasted nine years, and make me ruler of Hindústán, and although I had been all through from my seventeenth year declared by the imperial mandate to be the heir to the empire, yet I write to you a second time to prevent war and save life, and I propose to let the country as far as your horses’ hoofs have advanced into my territory be included in your dominions; and as you have assumed independence and have set foot in Hindústán, which is in my possession, I shall send you two millions of rupees in cash by way of meeting the expenses incurred by you in coming as a guest to me.”

Muhammad ‘Azím Sháh, on whose collar the hand of Muhammad ‘Azím death was already laid, at first flew Sháh’s reply. into a passion with Sháh Nawáz Khán, the bearer of the letter, and spoke roughly. The latter was a brave man and fearlessly grasped the handle of his sword. Nawáb Asad Khán sprang quickly from his place and standing between them said: “An ambassador is sacred.” He also checked the impetuosity of Sháh Nawáz Khán, took him aside with himself and seated him outside the tent. Muhammad ‘Azím then wrote the following reply :—

“ My brother,—With all your scientific proficiency
 “ and great scholarship, there is one scent of the spring
 “ flowers of Sa’di’s Gulistán which you have not yet
 “ inhaled, the passage which shows you the impossibility
 “ of our partnership. “ Two kings cannot live in one
 “ country.” You must give up parleying and fight as
 “ other princes before you have done.” He also inserted
 the following couplet from the Sháhnámah:—

To-morrow when the sun is mounting high,
 The field, Afrási,áb, my axe and I.

On Sunday, the 24th of Rabí’u’lawwal, 1119 A.H. [1707 A.D.], the armies met about nine miles from Akbarábád, and a strange fatality attended ‘Azím Sháh’s troops. For a whole day before the battle they endured the privations of a Karbila. On Saturday night, the 23rd, after a march of about twenty miles ‘Azím Sháh pitched his camp on the banks of a river ; its water was more bitter than the sap of the cactus. The horses, pack-animals, and men themselves, when they encamped here at night after that long march, suffered greatly by the want of water, and thirsty tongues were hanging out of mouths that cried for water. At this very time ‘Azím Sháh mounted without delay and opened battle. Sultán Mu‘azzam Bahádur Sháh, on hearing this, prepared for the fight with perfect steadiness and nonchalance, as though it were for a hunt. ‘Azímu’shshán, who was with his father, took the field until all Bahádur Sháh’s sons and nobles one after another came up, and the battle began. In a short time Khán Khánán Mun’am opened fire with his artillery on ‘Azím Sháh and his sons. The engagement lasted for seventeen days. On the seventeenth day Bahádur Sháh’s army brought in and laid before him ‘Azím Sháh’s head and the corpses

of his sons, Bedár Bakht and Wálá Jáh. Alas! how wonderful is the almighty power that humbles the proud! This was the Muhammad 'Azím Sháh who held Rustam, son of Dastán, lighter than an old woman, and who had haughtily said in his march: "How dare that Kábuli shopkeeper think of fighting and subduing me? The very moment he hears of 'Álamgír's death, he will become a wanderer in the mountains and deserts of disappointment, and, if his sons in the impetuosity of youth urge the old imbecile to foolish courses, he will fly to the wilderness of distress like a startled deer." Before a God under whose absolute power the pride of Namrúd was laid low by the buzzing of a gnat, what avails the self-importance of a Muhammad 'Azím Sháh!

When Bahádur Sháh had been thus relieved of all anxiety on account of 'Azím Sháh Sultán Kám Bakshsh. and his two sons, he halted for five months and then marched with his four sons and all his nobles to Haidarábád to attack Sultán Kám Bakshsh. The latter, notwithstanding that he was without the sinews of war, and had but a small force, giving no room in his heart to cowardice or timidity, prepared for action. When he first took the field, he had not more than 3,000 horse with him, and of these only some fifty or sixty remained true and loyal to him in the fight. Yet he planted his foot on the battle-field firm as Sikandar's wall. Thus he had but few supporters when the battle began, but a faqír named Sháh Allah Yár, who had been intimate with Kám Bakshsh before this battle, mounted on horseback, rode before the prince's elephant fighting faithfully, and thus showed his unwavering loyalty, until he fell and his head rolled as an offering before the feet of the prince's elephant. Kám Bakshsh, wholly deserted by

his followers, stood his ground and met the enemy with a volley of arrows. His whole body was pierced like a target by the arrows of the enemy, which were showered on him in return. At this moment Dá'úd Khán Panni, who was among Nawáb Zu'lfaqár Jang's van, approached the prince and seated himself in the howdah with him. Kám Bakhsb was now senseless and unable to move on account of his wounds. Dá'úd Khán brought the half-dead prince before Bahádur Sháh, who was touched, lifted him from the howdah and committed him to the care of his own staff. After a moment he sat down himself with his four sons to watch for the return of consciousness, when suddenly the dying prince opened his eyes, asked for water, and drank. Sultán Rafi'u'sh-shán, Bahádur Sháh's third son, said to him: "It was useless for you to stir up ill-feeling, when my father was not interfering with you, but was leaving you, alone." The sinking prince replied: "My young and inexperienced nephew, we three brothers have acted towards each other in accordance with the traditions of past princes. Now you four brothers should inaugurate a new era, divide the empire between you, and reign amicably if you can." He then expired. Bahádur Sháh treated his surviving family kindly and took them under his own protection. After a short stay at Haidarábád, he turned towards Hindústán. He was next engaged in crushing a rebellious Hindú fanatic, who had caused anarchy at Láhaur. It is a long story. Bahádur Sháh remained for some time at Láhaur and gave away large sums of money. The poor and needy were enriched. They say that, before his accession to the throne, he had vowed to God that, if he were fortunate enough to hold the Indian Empire without a rival, he would not reject

the petition of any applicant to him and would grant every request without hesitation. Accordingly, during the first year or two of his reign, he gratified people's wishes by giving them money, villages, stipends, dignities and so on. At last Nawáb Asad Khán represented to him that in a short time all the treasures of Hindústán would in this way be dissipated, and nothing would be left to him. The emperor replied: 'I shall not break my vow. You may do as you please.' From that day, whatever the emperor ordered, the Nawáb carried out only a fourth of it. Although countless revenue-free grants were conferred by farmán from the time of Akbar to Aurangzeb, yet the farmáns of Bahádur Sháh alone are twice as numerous as them all put together.

When he had reigned for five years, in the commencement of his sixth year, the learned emperor, who knew by heart a hundred thousand traditions of the Prophet, suddenly shifted the pole of his faith, and strange fancies occupied his mind. From his early years he had had a leaning to the Shí'a doctrine, but fear and regard for his father induced him to conceal this. Now, when his father and brothers had been removed, and the Persian officials, who filled the chief offices of state, openly and fearlessly proceeded to disseminate their articles of faith and incited the emperor also to do so, the emperor summoned the learned and accomplished divines of Láhaur and its vicinity, who were celebrated as stouter champions of the Sunní faith than those of other places. At first both parties, Shí'as and Sunnis, argued and disputed for some days, but neither party failed in argument and the controversy was of long duration. One day the emperor addressed the Sunnis and ordered them to omit from the khutba

of the 'Yds and Fridays, and all public prayers, the names of the first three K̄halífás. Not one ventured to reply: At last the emperor resolved that after the Prophet's name, the name of 'Ali should be read, and after that the names of the three K̄halífás. The learned men asked for a day's grace, and came on the second day and said to the emperor: "In the k̄huṭba of the 'Yds the names of your ancestors from Amír 'Taimúr to Your Majesty are read in due succession after the praise of God and Muhammad, and you regard chronological order, although some of them may have reigned for only a few days or a few months. As the succession without break first fell on Šiddíq (Abu Bakr) and next on 'Umar, son of K̄hattáb, and then upon 'Uṣmán, the order observed in the k̄huṭba is in accordance with the actual facts of the k̄haláfat. If Your Majesty, who is the emperor of this land, orders that the resolution you have proposed should have effect in India, it is possible: but the order of us poor and worthless men will not take effect throughout this whole realm." The emperor replied: "True; it will be so, as long as I reign: but what I mean is that, if this order be issued with your concurrence, who are the learned of the land, and if you incorporate in your treatises proofs in support of it, it is possible, nay, certain, that the practice will last for a long time." Again the learned men grew silent in abhorrence. The emperor now changed his tone and spoke to them angrily and rudely, but none replied. At last he gave them another day's grace and told them that, if they thought it over and gave a proper answer in the morning, it would be better for them, otherwise they would receive their deserts. The next day the same

situation recurred. He placed all these learned men in a separate tent, and placed before each of them a large dish full of delicate food and told them to eat. The order was given that the keepers of the imperial hounds should bring them and let them eat at the other side of these dishes. It was no sooner said than done. When it had gone thus far, each of these Musalmáns, preferring death, flatly refused to obey the emperor's order and replied explicitly: "The emperor's order is everything. Let him do as he pleases without fear and without dread of the vengeance of God. If he will kill us, let him take the sword; our heads are ready: but we will not comply with the request he has made of us." He then ordered them to be fettered and imprisoned, and he placed them on carts with the utmost indignity and despatched them to the fort of Gwáliár to be confined for life. Two thousand horse were sent as an escort with them. Most of these cavalry were Afghán Sunnís, and they said to their long-bearded prisoners: "You are four hundred wise, pious, and pure men with big turbans on your heads, long Musalmán coats on your bodies, and long beards to your chins, and ready to fast and pray, posted in doctrines, verses, and traditions. Has not even one of you any affinity with the unseen, or do you all reckon yourselves profoundly wise for a few words you have learned like parrots? Why do you not stretch out your hands in prayer and open your lips in supplication? If there is not one such among four hundred, what is the difference between the learned man and the ignorant?" When they had endured many taunts from the ignorant Afgháns, one of them said. "'Tis true, not one of us is able to pray effectually,

“but near this at the skirt of a mountain there is a devotee whose prayers are answered. I have known that wise and godly man for a long time. If you will kindly take us all in that direction, you also will be benefited by intercourse with that man of God, and probably he will pray for our release.” As this was what the Afgháns desired, they took them that way. They arrived at the threshold of the cell in a short time, and the God-fearing man came out from his cell and inquired what they wanted. He entertained them all as well as he could that night, and, when they were leaving in the morning, he said, “Please God, before you reach the fort you will be released. God can do all things.” At this point various historians tell different wonderful tales. God knows if they be true. Some say that, whenever the emperor ate or drank, he fancied he saw dogs with dirty mouths at the other side of his plate or cup, sharing whatever he was eating or drinking; and he ceased to eat or drink: but no one else could see them. He continued in this state for some days and suddenly, on the 19th of Muharram 1124 A.H. [1712 A.D.], he died without any external indications of bodily disease. Some sceptical people attribute this to the effects of poison, and some medical men, Galens in skill, connect these dangerous symptoms with some internal vital organ. He was born on Saturday, the last day of Rajab, 1053 A.H. [1643 A.D.], and he ascended the throne in 1119 A.H. [1707 A.D.], at Allahábád. He reigned for five years and some months, and died in 1124 A.H. [1712 A.D.]. Some historians give the 16th, and some the 19th, of Muharram as the day of his death.

It is said that, when Bahádur Sháh was dying, his two eldest sons, Muhammad Ma'izz-
 Nusrat Jang's intrigues begin. u'ddin Jahándár Sháh and Sultán
 'Azímu'shshán were present with him, and, as soon as
 he died, hurried to their several residences and began
 to collect troops, dig entrenchments, and mount cannon,
 and thus made ready to fight for the empire. Bahádur
 Sháh from his accession to his death always detained his
 four sons and his grandsons, of whom he had about
 twenty, present at court. His four sons now prepared
 each on his own account for a struggle. It happened
 that Amíru'lumara Bahádur Zu'lfaqár Khán, Nusrat
 Jang, the eldest son of Wazíru'lmalík Nawáb Asad
 Khán, hated and distrusted Sultán 'Azímu'shshán on
 account of some administrative changes with which he
 was connected,* and after three days' reflection he joined
 Jahándár Sháh and became the wife-puller in his coun-
 sels, and advised him thus : " To-day 'Azímu'shshán is
 " able in every way to wrest the empire from his brothers,
 " for the hearts of most imperial courtiers and the affec-
 " tions of the people are like a ball before his polo-stick,
 " and he has a large military force and vast treasure.
 " Thus his brothers singly cannot oppose him with their
 " smaller means; say even if all three combined to meet
 " him, it would go hard with them. But, if the two youn-
 " ger brothers will join their eldest brother and attack
 " him on three sides, and I move up on the fourth, we
 " may perhaps surprise and defeat him." He drew the
 two younger princes into his snare by the specious
 arrangement, that, after their victory, Jahándár Sháh, the
 heir to the empire, should ascend the throne of Hindús-
 tán; that Sultán Rafí'u'shshán should reign over Kábul,

* *Vide infra*, p. 175.

Multán, Thatha, and Bhakkar, which had constituted a separate kingdom up to the time of Akbar ; that Sul-tán Jahán Sháh, fourth and youngest son, should reign over the Dakhin, extending from the Narbada to Ceylon, that vast country formerly ruled by four independent sovereigns ; and that Nusrat Jang should reside in Sháh-jahánábád with Jahándár Sháh as wazír of the three sovereigns, and prevent disputes between them. By this foreseeing plan he wheedled the three young and inexperienced princes and bound them by oaths on the Qurán. Having thus freed his mind from apprehensions of hostility on the part of these princes, he brought together an army and took the field within a week.

Jahándár Sháh, having but little treasure and few troops, had intended after his father's death to fly to Multán, which had been for a long time administered by him, and there prepare for war; but in the meantime, fortunately for him, Nusrat Jang threw in his lot with him, and helped this debauched and listless prince as few ministers had ever before aided sovereigns; and the following couplet written by Nusrat Jang states this fact as truly as a mirror reflects the face of beauty:—

Jahándár Sháh in empire's glory basked
And God gave all Amíru'lumara asked.

In the first place, the army would not join Jahándár Sháh because of the reputed lowness of his exchequer ; but, the moment Amíru'lumara joined him, a great body of the army came over to him : in the second place, when Jahándár Sháh had only 7,000 horse and no treasury, Amíru'lumara unhesitatingly brought all the treasure he had, and heaped it at the gate of the palace, and issued a proclamation, and Bahádur Sháh's wavering

army followed Nusrat Jang's lead and rallied to the imperial colours.

The three princes and Nusrat Jang attacked Sultán 'Azímu'shshán from four sides, and he boldly stood his ground for nine days. A continuous fight was maintained, and on the ninth day Sultán Jahán Sháh advanced to close quarters. On 'Azímu'shshán's side the first to fly was Mahábat Khán, son of Khán Khánán, Wazír-i-Mu'azzam, and, following his example, Hamídu'ddín Khán, who was in the centre, also fled. The latter was a protégé of 'Álamgír's, who had risen from the lowest commissioned rank to the position of a commander-in-chief. Other nobles, officers, and many soldiers, fled from the deadly field, some to Láhaur and some to the jungles; and at the end of the day but a few followers remained round the prince's elephant. His enemies seeing this, now advanced in full force against him. He stood firm and was covered with wounds of arrows and musket balls. Jalál Khán Qaráwal Qushlíki, who was sitting in the howdah with the prince, threw himself to the ground and escaped by flight. The prince seized his bow and continued to discharge arrows until he was overpowered by his wounds and died. At evening Jahán Sháh's soldiers brought the slaughtered prince's elephant as a trophy to Jahándár Sháh.

Most writers, drawing on their imaginations, surmise that the elephant driver carried the prince from the field when he was senseless and delivered his corpse to his brothers; but there is very little ground for this fiction, for to this day, though many years have elapsed, no trace of the prince

has been found. His eldest son, Sultán Muhammad Karím, fled from the field when he saw the turn events were taking, and took refuge in a village in the house of a cloth-weaver or cotton-dresser. After two or three days he gave a very valuable jewel to the householder to sell and bring him necessities. Unfortunately, the vendor was arrested and revealed the secret. Jahándár Sháh's agent at once arrested the prince and brought him to the emperor, who sent him mercilessly to Nusrat Jang, and that heartless wretch, without a moment's reflection, handed him over to inhuman executioners, whom he ordered to put him to death. Although the orphan Sultán Muhammad Karím begged with tears in his eyes for a crumb of bread and a drop of water, saying he had tasted neither for three days, the wazír, blinded by passion and arrogance, paid no attention to his entreaty, but butchered him like a sheep.

When the other princes had thus succeeded beyond their expectations in dealing with 'Azímu'shshán, they beat their four drums of victory with careless joy, but they forgot the experience of those who have read the world to a purpose:—

Walk not round foeman's bier with breast elate :
Plume not thyself, thine too shall be this fate,

Two or three days after the sad end of 'Azímu'shshán, Nusrat Jang made haste to attach all the treasure and goods of the deceased prince, and lodged them with Jahándár Sháh. Hereupon Sultán Jahán Sháh became enraged and prepared to fight on his own account. All previous understandings and agreements were disregarded. There ensued a battle which continued from sunrise to sunset.

and was again renewed on the following day. At mid-day the intense heat led both armies to pause. While there was this lull in the fight, Rustamdil Khán, who had been released after the death of Bahádur Sháh and was in retirement in his private residence, was at Jahán Sháh's request made leader of his army, and he, with Jáni Khán and other leaders, seized the opportunity and rushed upon Jahándár Sháh's force and drove them easily before them. He thus pushed on into the centre where he captured A'izzu'ddin, Jahándár Sháh's eldest son, and then he advanced with Jáni Khán and Mír Báqi to the elephant on which Jahándár Sháh was mounted, and began to revile and abuse him. The emperor hid in the howdah, and they, who were mounted on horses, could not see him. When Rustamdil Khán asked what had become of the emperor, the elephant driver replied that he had just then alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse, and ridden off in another direction. He pointed to a few sawárs, and the three leaders turned towards them. The emperor thus escaped. They found they were deceived and returned to look for the elephant driver, but before their return the driver had taken the elephant from the field and placed the emperor in safety. Now they were met by the startling announcement that Jahán Sháh had been killed. It was evening, and they released A'izzu'ddin as a means of making their peace with his father, and went to where Jahán Sháh had been killed. They rescued the prince's elephant from Nusrat Jang's army with great dash and bravery, but finding him quite dead, they abandoned further effort as useless and sought their own safety.

The fact is that, when Rustamdil Khán, Jáni Khán, and others, rushed upon Jahándár's army, the

inexperienced Jahán Sháh followed with a mere handful of men. A dust-storm rose between them and veiled both armies in a cloud. Those in advance pushed on after a slight skirmish, and took no thought of those following them. Jahán Sháh in the dust and darkness took the wrong road and instead of following his van, entered a deserted village. Here some of Jahándár Sháh's matchlock men had taken refuge within the walls of the ruined houses, when they fled from Rustamdil Khán's attack. Seeing the approach of Jahán Sháh's party, they concluded that the enemy were coming in their pursuit, and in despair opened fire. Jahán Sháh's men were paralyzed and their inaction emboldened the refugees within the walls. Nusrat Jang had come out of his tent to inquire about Jahándár Sháh, when he was met with the intelligence of what was going on at the village. He at once hurried there with some cavalry. The sun was setting when he arrived and his approach completely demoralized Jahán Sháh's supporters, who were now attacked in front and rear and subjected to a heavy fire. Numbers were killed and the rest fled, except the few immediately round his elephant. The enemy advanced and now Jahán Sháh's eldest son, Farkhunda Akhtar, a youth of great beauty, addressed his father, and said that he wished to precede in death his father and brother, for he did not wish to witness their murder. He advanced discharging arrows and fell to a bullet from the enemy. His father followed him in the path of death. By a strange coincidence, while Jahándár Sháh, who had fled from Rustamdil Khán and Jáni Khán, was contemplating in astonishment his own reverse, in came Nusrat Jang and laid before him the head, the crown, and the throne of Jahán Sháh.

I now come to relate the sad end of Rafi'ushshán.

When he heard of his brother Jahán Rafi'ushshán's death.

Sháh's death, he knew that he would also have to meet the same fate. He proposed a night attack rather than wait for the morning, but his army refused to act. His officers feigned to continue loyal to him and he remained in his howdah all night waiting for the dawn. Had he been able to make a night attack, he would have come upon an enemy prostrated by two days' fighting, an army, of which a large number had gone to Láhaur to see their women and children, and the rest were lapped in sleep. Jahándár Sháh too and his nobles were wholly off their guard. His object, difficult otherwise for him to achieve, would then have been easily accomplished. When morning broke his officers proved unfaithful, and he advanced with but a few followers to the contest. Jahándár Sháh was still in bed when the news reached him. He got up and took the field on an elephant having arms and armour behind. Jahándár's soldiers had no sooner appeared for action than Rafi'ushshán's force gave way and fled. When the prince saw this, he leaped from his elephant and, sword in hand, stood his ground. There has been no prince or king among all the descendants of Taimúr who has like Rafi'ushshán stood alone sword in hand, when deserted by all his followers. He carried his honour unsullied with him to the grave and never bowed his head in his brother's noose. When Jahándár Sháh was beginning to rouse himself, but had not actually reached the field, his vanguard brought in Rafi'ushshán's corpse. "Thank God!" said he, and returned to his tent.

The compiler of this work has seen an illustrated history of events from the death of 'Álamgír to the

murder of Rafi'ū'shshán, which came from the library of Nawáb 'Abdu'lábád Khán Kashmíri into the hands of Ghayásu'ddin Muhammad Khán. The perusal of it would bring tears to the eyes. From it we gather that this event occurred in the Chauk Bázár at Láhaur, Rafi'ū'shshán was standing mounted on an elephant with a few faithful adherents in this narrow place, when some of Jahándár Sháh's horsemen and a few officers mounted on elephants confronted him, and a spear was hurled at him. The prince drew the spearhead out and flung it away with all his might, and killed several of the officers with arrows. A hand-to-hand fight of mahauts with mahauts, attendants with attendants, horsemen with horsemen, now ensued, the like of which has not been recorded in any book, not even in the great epic of the Sháhnámah. It is said that few of Jahándár Sháh's soldiers were aware of this fight, and that it was only when Rafi'ū'shshán's corpse was brought in that the officers, soldiers, and shopkeepers became aware of what had happened. His body lay exposed before Jahándár Sháh's door for three days.* Thus these princes after the death of their father exercised each a nominal sovereignty for a few days in his own house, spread the imperial umbrella over their heads, and being dissatisfied with their lot, fell from the throne to the grave.*

'Azímu'shshán was endowed with all princely qualities. He was wise, brave, wealthy, and handsome. His ability was so marked, that in his early manhood he for some years filled the office of wazír to his grandfather,

* Between these points there is a long common place moral reflection which is of no historical interest. This sentence is not a literal rendering of the peroration, for the original is erroneously or ironically written in the opposite sense.

'Álamgír, and there is no greater proof of his ability than this. Later on he accompanied his father in his expeditions and campaigns through Hindústán. He wrote out two memoranda showing respectively the revenue and expenditure of all the provinces, Hindústán, Dakhin, Bengál, and all the territories ruled by 'Álamgír, and presented them to 'Álamgír, who praised the intelligence and ability of the prince, and acted on these two memoranda for the rest of his reign and always kept them before his eyes.

When Bahádur Sháh's wazír died, Sultán 'Azímu'shshán requested that the son of the deceased wazír should be appointed to succeed his father. Hereupon the other three princes, at Nusrat Jang's instigation, clamoured that there was no one who had any claims except Nusrat Jang, as he was the son of Ásaf Jáh's daughter, and the eldest son of Asad Khán Ásafu'd-daulah, who had for forty years filled the office of wazír to 'Álamgír with consummate ability, and was then agent-general to Bahádur Sháh. Nay, they even set in circulation a rumour that, if Mahábat Khán, son of Khán Khánán, was appointed to that high office, the three princes would make an effort for his murder at the time of investiture. To prevent this disturbance, the prudent Bahádur Sháh, on the advice of 'Azímu'shshán, postponed the appointment of wazír, and he appointed as deputy wazír, with the designation of "Wazáratkhwání," Hidáyatullah Khán, son of 'Ináyatullah Khán, who had filled the office of dewáni for thirty years in the time of 'Álamgír with great honesty and fidelity; but he was guided by the opinion and advice of Sultán 'Azímu'shshán in all affairs of state. For this reason the flame

of enmity burned in the hearts of the three princes and Nusrat Jang. They bound themselves by oaths and strong promises that, after the death of Bahádur Sháh, the three princes should act according to Nusrat Jang's judgment and oppose him in no way; that, after murdering 'Azímu'shshán, they should then divide the provinces: (1) Jahándár Sháh, eldest son and heir apparent, should reign in the provinces of Hindústán, Gujrát and Bengál; (2) Raff'u'shshán take Kábul, Kashmír, Multán, Thatha, Pesháwar, Bhakkar, &c.; (3) Jahán Sháh should establish himself in the vast provinces of the Dakhin; that they should content themselves with one wazír, Nusrat Jang, and never act on their own responsibility; and that two deputy wazírs should be appointed by Nusrat Jang for the two kings, with whom he did not reside himself. But, strange to say, all this plan was ignored by the three princes after 'Azímu'shshán's murder, and Nusrat Jang, with all his sagacity and his professed regard for good faith, sided with Jahándár Sháh, and, after the death of the first brother, seized all his property, and handed it over to Jahándár Sháh alone. Had he divided this, it is probable that Jahán Sháh's enmity would not have been excited and there would have been no bloodshed.

Although the events of Jahándár Sháh's reign do not

Reign of Jahándár
Sháh and his débau-
chery.

deserve record, a brief narrative of them will be given as a warning to those who regard the turns of fortune. If, however, Jahándár Sháh's contemporaries had been living in the time of Asafu'ddaulah, Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, and had seen the influence of the páلكi bearer, Bhawáni, and the ascendancy and credit of the crossing-sweeper, Bhá,i Khán; and had they witnessed the

familiarities allowed to chamber servants and butlers, they would a thousand times rather have had the days of Jāhándár Sháh than those of the nawáb wazír.

The first act of the emperor after the murder of his brothers was to create Nusrat Jang a Duázda-Hazári,* a dignity reserved from the days of Bábar for princes of the imperial blood alone, and he also appointed him wazír. He made 'Ali Murád Kokah, his own foster-brother, paymaster-general, and gave him also the rank of Duázda-Hazári with the title of Khán Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh. Most of his brothers he invested with high rank. He raised so many undeserving men to the highest ranks that the whole scheme of Akbar, which had continued to be observed up to his time, was upset.† And to La'l Kunwar, a dancing girl who was his chief favorite in his seraglio, and of whom he was madly fond from the first time he met her, he surrendered all his power from the moment he ascended the throne, made her the soul of his administration, and gave her a free rein. Thus many fiddlers and drummers, who were related to this fascinating adventuress, were raised to the dignities of Haft-Hazári and Hasht-Hazári,‡ and were given armorial bearings to carry before them; and the sword and shield gave place to the fiddle and the drum. All those rules and regulations which had been framed by Akbar during the fifty-two years of his reign, and which his successors had added to as they found advisable, were now wholly set aside to make room for innovations which brought the imperial dignity into contempt. Even that high dignity of Bist-Hazári,§ which

* Commander of twelve thousand.

† That scale of rank laid down in the A'in-Akbari.

‡ Commander of twenty thousand.

up to this time no Amír or wazír, no matter how great were his services or how near he was related to the imperial family, ever attained, he now conferred as an ordinary matter on musicians who happened to be relatives of La'l Kunwar's: and to such high estate did he raise them that, when some of this infamous class went out, they were preceded in the streets by elephants bearing dragon-headed spears, an emblem distinctive of princes. One of La'l Kunwar's connections, who had risen from the lowest rung to the top of the ladder, was at this siren's request appointed Názim of the Panjáb. When the wazír, Nusrat Jang, was apprized of this, he delayed to deliver the letter of appointment and ignored the order for some time, until this greedy lover of empire became importunate in his demand for the written order. The wazír told him very politely that it was the rule of the office that no letter of appointment should be delivered without the presentation of money; that, however, as he was related to the emperor's mistress, he would not trouble him for money, but would be satisfied with drums; and that, the sooner he delivered one thousand drums, the sooner he would get his credentials. The easily-deluded fool, without waiting to reflect, began to collect drums from every possible place, and within a week he delivered to the wazír two hundred drums. Nusrat Jang, as he had some hidden object in this demand, told him that it was impossible for him to get the letter of appointment unless he delivered the full number of drums. Puffed up by his connection with the imperial mistress, and incensed at the non-receipt of the imperial letter, he complained to Jahándár Sháh that the wazír had declined to make out the document and had demanded a bribe as indispensable. The

emperor, without discerning the object of this demand, asked the wazír, when he met him, why he was collecting all these drums. The wazír replied that, when these sensual fiddlers had taken the places of nobles, the old nobles would not be able to attain any consideration unless they had the hold of some fiddler's skirt; and that he therefore wished to have these nobles cast away their weapons and make these drums their passports to the imperial levées; otherwise without studying this fashionable profession, it would be impossible for them to think of advancement. The emperor was very much ashamed and refrained from further innovations.

But worldly ambition and the love of power caused an enmity between Nusrat Jang and Kokaltásh Khán. From the emperor's birth Kokaltásh Khán had been his playmate, his confidential friend, and the pivot on whom all his affairs turned; as a prince he had no voice in his money affairs, and the Khán's influence and control was so complete that the prince's wife and child had to live in the most meagre style. The prince dared not interfere with him, and his power was rendered doubly strong by the friendship and favour of La'l Kunwar. Thus all the prince's servants, high and low, were amenable to Kokaltásh Khán, and not one could venture to act against his will. If the prince pleaded impecuniosity and asked the Khán for money, he replied that he would, when there was real need, produce such treasure, amassed for thirty years in the provinces he had administered, as would baffle calculation. When the unexpected contest for the crown arose, he was asked to produce this treasure; he could only say that it was in Multán, the capital of his provinces, and that it was vain to attempt

to trace the treasures without going there. When the prince heard this, as the mountain would not come to him, he determined to go to the mountain, and so prepared to fly to Multán, and undertake his campaign after there procuring the sinews of war. In this pinch Khán Nusrat Jang joined the emperor, and placed his treasure at his disposal, and acted as no man had done before, with the result that the five princes fell to the sword in one field. These services of Nusrat Jang's were rewarded with the appointment of wazír, and the post of paymaster-general was conferred on Kokaltásh Khán. But the latter had for forty years held the promise of the wazír's office from the prince, and was waiting for this opportunity. The prince, now emperor, seemed to outward gaze to desire to please Amíru'lumara, but secretly he held himself bound to gratify Kokaltásh Khán by making him wazír instead of Nusrat Jang, as soon as ever he could find the opportunity. This feeling, however, he suppressed and considered it proper to conceal, because Nusrat Jang had stood by him in his dire necessity and poured his treasures out to him when he was penniless, and also because the old nobles all were in his favour and looked up to him as their leader. Besides this, he knew that open strife between Nusrat Jang and Kokaltásh Khán would cause ramified and far-reaching dissensions. Nusrat Jang perceived this within seventeen days after the death of Rafí'u'shshán; but, as the past could not be recalled, he could only bear his fate with patience.

The first order which Jahándár Sháh gave, after the murder of Rafí'u'shshán, was that Jáni Khán Jahánsháhi and Rustamdil Khán, and Mukhlásh Khán, should be brought before him, and, after being charged and proved

guilty, be put to death. When Jání Khán was brought up, the prince A'izzu'ddin interceded for him, as he had saved his life, for 'one good turn deserves another,' and his life was spared. Rustamdil Khán, however, who had discharged arrows at the imperial howdah and had abused the emperor on the field, was for these reasons, and also for the following reasons, put to death. When the death of Jahán Sháh had taken place and the accession of Jahándár Sháh was assured beyond voice of rumour, Rustamdil Khán fled to Láhaur, where his home was. While he was on his way, he was overtaken by the conveyance which carried La'l Kunwar, who had fled in fright at the onset of Jahán Sháh's troops. He had no hope of his life, and yet, instead of using this opportunity for his advantage, he cruelly dragged the royal mistress from her conveyance and drove her before him to his house. He omitted no treatment which could disgrace her. Hereupon Zabardast Khán, son of Ibráhím Khán, son of 'Ali Mardán Khán, learning what had happened, went to the rescue and recovered the tender peacock of Hindústán from the eagle's claws. For this behaviour Rustamdil Khán and Mukhlás Khán were sentenced to death.

They say that, when Rustamdil Khán was brought before the wazír, Nusrat Jang, the latter smiled and said to him: "For all your wisdom and cleverness what good did it do you to eat the filth?" Rustamdil laughed at him loudly and replied: "It is the same filth which you and I have both eaten from one dish, only it has agreed with you and disagreed with me." At these words Nusrat Jang was highly ashamed and hung down his head. When the executioner was severing Rustamdil Khán limb from limb, he was

as dauntless as his name implied, and he gave vent to his resentful feelings against the emperor, and against Nusrat Jang and Kokaltásh Khán, as coolly and collectedly as if he were engaged in ordinary conversation; and till his last breath, when all his limbs had been lopped by the executioner's blade, neither did his firmness give way nor was his pride broken. When he had expired, his limbs were hung up under different trees. But Mukhlásh Khán had the leaven of righteousness in him, and continued in devotion until his head was severed from his body. After putting these two innocent men to death, the emperor confiscated the property of many nobles, such as Mahábat Khán, son of Khán Khánán Mu'azzam, and Hamídu'ddín Khán 'Álamgíri, and imprisoned them for life. These two measures wholly and at once alienated from him the hearts of his subjects, but they could not help themselves. They had to submit.

After two months and some days Jahándár Sháh marched to Sháhjahánábád and took up his residence in the fort. He entirely forgot Farrukhsiyar, 'Azímu'sh-shán's son, who had for many years been in Bengál, and looked on him as unworthy of notice. He became absorbed in revelries night and day, and often spent nights in the houses of his nobles witnessing illuminations and entertainments, and on other occasions he went out secretly with La'l Kunwar in one conveyance and moved about to see the sights of the streets and bázárs. His chief pleasure was drinking. He despatched his eldest son, Sultán A'izzu'ddin, to oppose Sultán Farrukhsiyar, who now advanced from Bengál, and with him he sent as commander-in-chief Khwája Husen Khán, Khán Daurán, who was husband of Kokaltásh Khán's sister. The

prince went with Khán Daurán, but had to delay some days near Akbarábád to procure munitions of war and treasure for paying the army. After that he marched to his destination. Arriving at Khajawa, he threw up entrenchments and constructed raised batteries. In the course of two months he had built a fort round his camp, and remained calmly waiting until Farrukhsiyar arrived there with the help of the Saiyads.

I have read in various books written by late historians, and I have heard from trustworthy old men of 'Álamgír's time, who were living in my boyhood, the following account of the Saiyads. Saiyad Mían, known as Saiyad 'Abdullah of Bárha, was a young man of powerful build, strong physique, and great personal courage, in 'Álamgír's bodyguard. He used to go every night with the officer of his troop as a special guard to the imperial sleeping-tent, and spend the whole night there. When 'Álamgír went to visit Hasan Abdál on his way to Kábul, Saiyad 'Abdullah one evening, after attending to his necessities, armed himself and was going alone to his usual post. When he had passed the market in the imperial camp, he came across a prostitute's daughter, ugly and mean, who was abusing God and shouting out—"O unjust God, first Thou hast created me with an ugly face, and next hast appointed me to live by a profession which will inevitably bring me to hell-fire in the next world. For all this debasement, no one will look at me on account of my ugliness. I am sure that my soul will leave my body this night from the pangs of hunger." This sad appeal suddenly fell upon his ear, and his heart was moved. He stayed a moment with her and taking two rupees from his

pocket, handed them to her, saying : " I shall spend to-night with you, and you must not receive anybody else." He hurried on: When the woman saw the two rupees in the candlelight, she could not contain herself for joy, and fancied that he had given her silver instead of copper by a mistake, and that he would demand it when he found out his error. She resolved to move to another house, but she again determined to remain and said to herself: " If it be God's doing there is no fear, and I need not move; if it be otherwise, wherever I go I will be found out." When a watch of night had passed, she believed that the God-fearing man had taken pity on her and given her this money. She fell prostrate and prayed to God with all her heart: " O God, as this servant of Thine has in this day of my distress had pity on me, hear my prayer and raise him to the rank of Haft-Hazári." Her prayer was no sooner uttered than answered. They say that, when Saiyad 'Abdullah and others were sitting round the emperor's tent, a violent gale of wind sprung up and a thick cloud of rain obscured earth and sky. The thunder and lightning terrified the camp; and the fall of rain and huge hailstones drove the soldiers to seek shelter wherever it could be found. The soldiers' tents, as well as the emperor's tent, were all torn to shreds and levelled to the ground. Saiyad 'Abdullah bore all these shocks and sat hunkering on his shield, thinking his helmet, armour, and coat of mail, sufficient shelter, and did not move. The emperor came out sword in hand in the middle of this confusion to test the guard at his tent, Saiyad 'Abdullah, who was sitting alone, took the emperor for a thief and asked: " Who goes there?" The emperor replied: " What is your name?" He answered,

“Abdullah.” “In whose company are you?” He said: “so and so’s.” When the emperor went in, the violence of the rain, wind, and hail diminished. The sky cleared and the moon shone out clear as the sun. Next day they halted to dry the tents and baggage. At the darbár all the nobles and officers came to pay their respects, and were drawn up in line according to rank. The chief officer of the body-guard was ordered to stand as a proxy and he stood where he was ordered. The emperor said to him: “I have appointed you now proxy for ‘Abdullah, and I have promoted him to the command of twenty.” In short, he went on and raised him in that one sitting to the grade of “Do-Hazári.” The officer was then sent back to his post, and the imperial chamberlain was ordered to inquire in the office for the badges of a “Do-Hazári” and take them to ‘Abdullah and announce his promotion. Saiyad ‘Abdullah, who was sitting quite ignorant of all this in his quarters, suddenly saw the imperial chamberlain come with the badges, and knew that this was a reward for his sticking to his post during the night. Some instructors in court ceremonial took him in hand and coached him in court etiquette. He soon became a “Panj-Hazári.” His eldest son, Saiyad Hasan ‘Ali, and his second son, Saiyad Husen ‘Ali, were through their father’s influence admitted occasionally to salute the emperor. He had beside them three other sons, Núru’d-din ‘Ali Khán, Najmu’d-din ‘Ali Khán, and Siráju’d-din ‘Ali Khán. ‘Alamgír appointed the two eldest sons to posts under Sultán Mu‘azzu’d-din Jahándár Sháh, who was in his grandfather’s time governor of Multán, and they continued with him until the prince had an engagement with Baluch marauders. They distinguished themselves in

this action and expected an adequate return for their exertions. Unluckily things turned out contrary to their expectations. They were disgusted and left Multán with the prince's permission, and came to Láhaur in utter poverty. It so happened that in those days Mun'am, Khán, who afterwards in the time of Bahádur Sháh became wazír with the title of Khán Kháni, was governor of the Panjáb and dewán to Bahádur Sháh, holding the appointment from 'Álamgír. He considered the arrival of the Saiyads a great advantage to himself, and he treated them with great kindness and made intimate friends of them. About this period the news came of 'Álamgír's death, and when Bahádur Sháh came from Kábul to Láhaur, he gave the Saiyad hitherto known as Hasan 'Ali Khán, the name and title his father had borne, Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, and, presenting him with several lakhs of rupees, appointed him again to the command of Jahándár Sháh's van. He distinguished himself in the battle with Muhammad 'Azím Sháh. After the battle the emperor, Bahádur Sháh, went to Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán and Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán's house to the funeral prayers for Saiyad Núru'ddin 'Ali Khán, their younger brother, who had been killed by a spear, and he spoke loudly in their praise. Husen 'Ali Khán then hastened to reply to the emperor, and said: "We true soldiers have not yet shown anything worthy of praise. Please God, if the emperor ever be helpless and deserted and driven from his throne, and again be restored to his crown by our exertions, then we shall think we have done something; all that we did yesterday has been done by other true servants of the emperor. So whatever we have done in combination with others, is nothing to boast of." Jahándár Sháh, when

he heard this, was greatly annoyed and left, and caused their claims to promotion to be overlooked by Bahádur Sháh, and even made an evil return to them for their good services. When this rupture happened, the two brothers went to Sultán 'Azímu'shshán, who appointed Saiyad 'Abdullah deputy governor of the Súbah of Allahábád, and Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán deputy governor of the Súbah of Patna-Behár, placing him in the capital of the province of Bengál, as compensation for their losses sustained through Jahándár Sháh's malice.

There lived in Delhi a darwesh of great piety and devotion named Sháh Bhíkha, a Saiyad of the descendants of the Prophet. Many persons who had a regard for pious mendicants used to visit him. Shekh Muhammad Roshan, who afterwards, in the time of Muhammad Sháh gained the title of Roshanu'ddaulah Turrabáz Khán, used to sit in the days of his poverty among the general crowd round this darwesh. One day the darwesh suddenly raised his head, which was bowed in meditation, and cried with a loud voice: 'The drum of Farrukhsiyar sounds in my ear.' At this moment prince Farrukhsiyar, son of 'Azímu'shshán, was living with his mother for his education in Patna, accompanied by Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán and three thousand horse. Shekh Muhammad Roshan, who believed with his whole heart in the darwesh, suddenly left the gathering and determined to go to Patna. As he had no travelling expenses, weapons, or horse, he went to the house where his sister, a widow, lived, and said: "I am dying from poverty and I am going to the east in search of fortune. If there is a sword of my dead brother-in-law's

"here, kindly let me have it." She heaved a cold sigh and said: "There used to be many, but you know, that in my poverty, I have sold them. Go in and search, there may be one lying inside." He went into the room and, while rummaging in a corner, he put his hand on a black rusty sword with a scabbard that had fallen to pieces: and, as it was not fit for any one to take in his hand, he threw it on the ground and said: "This is a laughing-stock of a sword; and I am ashamed to take it in my hand." His sister swore that there was no other and bid him search. He took it home with him, helpless and despondent. As he was penniless, he took a bit of brick and began to polish the handle with his own hand. After a moment or two he found it was gilt. He took it to a gilder in the bázár, saying to himself: "If this is gilt, there will be only five or six rupees of gold on the handle, and if it be heavily plated, it will be worth at any rate ten or twenty rupees," and he asked him to take off the gold and give it to him. The gilder began to examine it and said: "This handle is solid gold." In short, he sold it for nine hundred rupees, and, fitting himself out as he wished, he presented himself before Farrukhsiyar. He stated what the darwesh had said. The prince replied: "If it be so, bring it to me in writing." The simpleton returned at once and said to Sháh Bhíkha: "Sultán Farrukhsiyar says that, as so and so has fallen from your venerated lips, it is certainly the voice of fate; but he would wish you to give it in writing with your hand, and he will feel satisfied." As soon as Shekh Roshan said this, Sháh Bhíkha flew into a passion and said: "Who is he and who am I! God knows the hour and the day and the moment and the star that was in the ascendant when

"I uttered the words. Go to some astrologer and ask him to write it." Shekh Roshan returned to Patna ashamed, dazed, and perplexed; and attended on Farrukhsiyar in his out-of-door recreations and sport.

They say that, when the death of his grandfather, Bahádur Sháh, and the murders of his father 'Azímu'sh-shán and his two uncles and his two brothers were announced to him at the one breath, Farrukhsiyar, who had been in Bengál for many years, became disheartened, because he had neither army nor treasure, and had enemies innumerable, and after long deliberation he resolved to put an end to his own life. However, as life is dearer than everything, the prince reflected that to take his own life would cause him loss of both worlds, and therefore to rush from this world into the next would only be a proof of his folly. He deemed it advisable to disappear somewhere and trust in Providence: better to live there as best he could than remain where he was in terror of the enemy's sword.* Husen 'Ali Khán was his anchor in this storm. He sent his mother and his daughter, who was still a mere child, to the Saiyad's house with this message: "You have for some years been a deputy governor in these provinces under my father, and my father's claims upon you are undoubted. Now that my grandfather has died, and my father and two uncles and my brothers have been murdered by Jahándár Sháh on one field by the help of Nusrat Jang, and I am left an orphan, am without treasure and army through my father's carelessness, and am absolutely helpless, I ask you,

* There is a long figurative passage in the original, in which the writer uses metaphors and similes relating to boats and storms, which would be unpalatable to read in English, so I give the pith only.

“if you are in favour of Jahándár Sháh, to send me in chains to him ; but, if you will take me by the hand and assist me to avenge my father’s, my uncles’ and my brothers’ blood, it will be an acknowledgment of the obligations under which you lie and will not be without its reward.” After the delivery of this message, his mother and daughter took off their veils and began to weep before Husen ‘Ali Khán’s mother, saying : “ Our honor is now in the hands of your brave sons.” When the old lady heard their pitiable story, she called in her son and told him all. She brought the prince’s daughter bare-headed and unveiled before him, and she solved the difficulty, saying : “ The coming thus unexpectedly of such as these to our poor house is a great honour, which no one, wise or foolish, could have conceived. As the favour of God has to-day made up the fortune of this house, you must make the most of the great luck which has come to us, and place your head and your brothers’ heads at the prince’s disposal. If you lose your life, your name will live among heroes for ever ; but, if you win, there will be no greater in the empire after the emperor than you. Be courageous, think not of life or wealth, for God helps those who help the weak. If you are restrained by the greed of worldly position and the authority of Jahándár Sháh, you will be called to account at the bar of God for disregarding a mother’s claims.” On hearing this appeal made by his mother, Husen ‘Ali Khán rose up and drew the veils over Farrukhsiyar’s mother’s and daughter’s face, and with true heart and honest faith swore to take their part.

Next day it happened that Farrukhsiyar came alone with one dauntless follower to Husen ‘Ali Khán’s house,

and made the same request of him that the ladies had made the day before. He extended his hands and feet and asked him to solve the situation, saying: "Here is your servant who has come to see you, hoping you will do one of two things, send him bound hand and foot to Jahándár Sháh or take him by the hand and stand or fall with him." Husen 'Ali Khán, hearing this second declaration of painful helplessness, promised to aid him and began to prepare the insignia of empire for him. In a few days he had got ready a small throne and umbrella, which are the chief emblems of sovereignty, and, at an auspicious moment fixed by astrologers, he took the prince's hand and led him to the throne. He then sent a letter to his elder brother, Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, announcing what he had done, and asking him to join with him in supporting Farrukhsiyar.

They say that Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, when he first heard of the bold step his brother had taken, was unable to comprehend it, and wrote a letter of advice, saying: "You know that the emperor, Jahándár, has had a grudge against me ever since his early years, as is evident from the contest between Bahádur Sháh and Muhammad 'Azím Sháh. The Wazír, Nusrat Jang, and Nawáb Zu'lfaqár Khán, with all their superior power, are Jahándár Sháh's main supporters. There is no limit to the emperor's army, treasure, artillery, and other sinews of war. Clever as you are, for a gnat to attack an elephant and hope to win, is utter folly." Afterwards, when Saiyad Rájí arrived to take over Allahábád, Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán lost all hopes of Jahándár Sháh's doing anything for him, and he had no resource left but to fall in with his brother's counsels. As this elder brother of the Saiyad family was certain

of the fidelity of his younger brother, he wrote a letter to Sultán Farrukhsiyar promising firm adherence. • 1

When Saiyad Husen 'Ali Kẖán, animated by the hope of place and power, gave his hand to Sultán Farrukhsiyar, the prince had only 3,000 horsemen, consisting of writers, eunuchs, and sepoy, in his camp, and no friend or treasure. His condition was depicted in these lines:—

Though like a tree in winter now
Leafless I stand and bare,
I cherish still the hope in spring
A verdant robe to wear.

But, as soon as the public knew that the Saiyads had espoused his cause, trained soldiers flocked to his standard in great numbers. In a short time he had about 21,000 daring cavalry.

About three months before the emperor Bahádur Sháh's death, Husen 'Ali Kẖán had gone to settle affairs at Jaunpur, which is one of the districts in the Allahábád súbah, but he was not able to do this in the way that he wished. This led to an increased charge for pay of soldiers, for which 'Abdullah Kẖán was liable. The men became demoralized and began to mutiny. The Saiyad, who was without money, quietly resolved to try to appease his soldiers as best he could and find his way back to the fort at Allahábád, where he could shut himself up and face them. In this way he hoped to save his honor. He openly sent for the officers and addressed them, saying that he had only lost by this expedition, but that, on arriving at Allahábád, he would give them whatever his subordinates had collected, and there would be no delay in payment. By this false promise the whole force was led to march to the

place he desired. At this juncture news came of Bahádur Sháh's death. Hereupon 'Abdullah Khán, big with hope, flew to the same spot. By a strange coincidence a consignment of treasure from Bengál, under the escort of Shujá'u'ddin Khán, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khán, Dewán of Bengál, had reached Allahábád a few days before (on its way to Sháhjahánábád); and the startling news of the emperor's death alarmed him. 'Abdullah Khán unexpectedly arrived and exchanged visits with him. At their second interview 'Abdullah Khán suggested that keeping such a large amount of treasure outside the city was dangerous, and that it would be better to remove it from such an unsafe place and lodge it inside the imperial fort; and that, when one of the four princes succeeded in establishing himself as emperor, his orders would be taken as to the treasure. Shujá'u'ddin Khán was led by this specious speech to deposit the money in the fort. When 'Abdullah Khán became master of this great treasure, he more than satisfied the demands of his soldiers, and, having won them, he made his administration secure.

It so happened at this critical time that Jahándár Sháh appointed Ráji 'Ali Khán, a noble who had recently risen to office, Súbahdár of Allahábád. But the man was short-sighted, inexperienced, and had less spirit than a menial servant. He sent an insignificant Afghán as his deputy to Allahábád. Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, the current of whose loyalty had not yet wholly set to either Farrukhsiyar or Jahándár Sháh, was sending repeated letters to the latter assuring him of his loyalty and awaiting the result. He was certainly at the same time not wholly in favour of Farrukhsiyar, when his plans were suddenly upset by the news of his dismissal

and Ráji 'Ali Khán's appointment. He hurried to enrol troops, collected nearly 4,000 horse in a week, appointed his two younger brothers, Saiyad Siráju'ddin 'Ali Khán and Saiyad Najmu'ddin 'Ali Khán, commanders of his army, sent them to meet Jahándár Sháh's forces, which were double in number, and thus took the field. The two armies met about nine miles out of Allahábád. Victory was on the point of declaring for Jahándár Sháh's army, when a musket ball struck Siráju'ddin 'Ali Khán, who was merely a beardless boy, and killed him. On this the Saiyad's troops losing heart began to give way, but Najmu'ddin 'Ali Khán, notwithstanding his brother's death, kept up heart and stood his ground with a few men. He watched an opportunity until Ráji 'Ali Khán's army were immersed in the plunder of baggage, horses, and elephants, and had left their leader alone, and then he moved down with a few of his picked companions, reached the commander's elephant, and killed him.

"Death waits on victory."

Ráji 'Ali Khán's men fled in all directions, when they saw their leader fallen, while the Saiyad's flying troops turned again and began to gather up the baggage, which a moment before was being plundered.

Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán was emboldened by this and plucked up courage to join Sultán Farrukhsiyar. When the news of this defeat spread, Jahándár Sháh wrote to his elder son, A'izzu'ddin, who was enjoying himself at Akbarábád, a strong remonstrance, and sent him to prepare the war equipments for want of which the march of his troops was delayed. The prince, who was but a puppet in the hands of Khán Daurán, and had no more than

Battle of Khajawa.

the name of prince about him, marched with 30,000 men, as soon as he received his father's letter, towards the point directed. He moved slowly to Khajawa, a place forty-five miles from Allahábád on the road to Agra, where, in days before, the battle for the empire had taken place between 'Álamgír and Sháh Shujá'. Deeming the spot lucky, he halted here and spent a period of a month and a-half, throwing up raised batteries round his camp and arming them with cannon, guns, swivels, and other arms. Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán strengthened himself in the position he had taken up near the same place, when he heard of the prince's approach, and he sent repeated letters express post to Sultán Farrukhsiyar, begging him to come, as the day for which he had been looking was now arrived, and saying : " Delay in seeking the throne "and crown is now out of place; nay, more, it only "gives courage and strength to the enemy. It is there- "fore necessary to come up with all possible speed, and "victory is certain." He also wrote to his younger brother, Saiyad Hasan 'Ali Khán, in similar terms, and the latter, in compliance with the letter, within a few days joined the prince, who had nearly 20,000 horse, and took the field. Saiyad 'Abdullah with 17,000 newly-recruited horse, whom he had paid out of the Bengál treasure, moved to meet the prince. The two brothers were overjoyed to see each other and hastened to attack the imperial army. On reconnoitering the field they found that there was an iron stronghold before them, and to place their troops in line before it would be to sacrifice them, and they therefore advanced to take the batteries. Fortune turned the balance in favour of the Saiyads and against Jahándár Sháh, and on the 29th Jamádi, ul-awwal, in the vicinity of Khajawa, after a contest of two

days and nights, during the third night Khán Daurán, who was Jahándár Sháh's general, seeing the Saiyads prevailing and victory resting with Sultán Farrukhsiyar, compelled Sultán A'izzu'ddin, who was under his orders, to mount an elephant at the third watch and fly with him to Akbarábád, and he took good care that the powerless prince should not elude him. All the money and treasure belonging to Sultán A'izzu'ddin and Khán Daurán that was on the spot, with artillery on a scale which no prince had before brought together, fell into Farrukhsiyar's hands: and with this went all the property of the nobles who had been deputed with them. The people of Hindústán now knew that Sultán Farrukhsiyar was supreme.

"We win or lose and people merely say:

"So and so lost, the other won the day."

I now turn from the victory of Farrukhsiyar to Fate of Jahándár record the fate of the debauched Sháh. emperor Jahándár Sháh. As soon as the disquieting news of the defeat reached his ears, Jahándár Sháh tore his heart from the pleasures, dissipations, and festive gatherings, by which he was surrounded, and set himself to conciliate his troops and prepare munitions of war. He turned his attention to the payment of the army, which had not seen the face of a rupee for the eleven months that had elapsed since Bahádur Sháh's death. All the treasure left by Bahádur Sháh and 'Alamgir, whether in the emperor's private vaults or in the public treasury at Sháhjahánábád, had been squandered in weekly illuminations and festive gatherings on the banks of the Jamna. The people, who are ever ready to embrace an excuse, seeing there were two rival powers, became disobedient and ceased to pay

their taxes and tribute. The officials too, wavering between the one side and the other, until they saw which of the two would emerge triumphant, did not think it prudent to use military force to compel the evading taxpayer, and themselves awaited the turn of events. Suddenly the news of Sultán A'izzu'ddin's defeat sounded in the ears of these temporizers, and Jahándár Sháh's officials felt it impossible to remain at their official centres. A writer states that he himself saw the store of coin exhausted in paying the troops and that recourse was then had to gold and silver plate ; that after that it was necessary to use jewellery and precious stones ; that even that did not suffice and it ended in utilizing copper, clothing, and carpets, to finish the payments.

They say that, when A'izzu'ddin and Khán Khánán fled from Khajawa, Mohan Singh, an unknown zamíndár of zila' Tiloi, who had gone with a handful of breechless rustics to look on at the battle from a distance, saw the prince and nobles flying in despair with haste to Akbarábád. The wretched unbeliever without scruple entered the tents and camp, and carried off all the money and baggage he could, as well as twenty-one elephants, the same number of guns, with ammunition and bullocks, to Tiloi, built a fort, and carried his hat on the side of his head for the rest of his life.

At a moment fixed by astrologers, the middle of the second watch of night, Jahándár Sháh mounted an elephant and, with a thousand regrets and misgivings, went out to battle. When the flag of ill-luck cast its shadow over the inhabitants of Akbarábád,* at the advice of his counsellors

* When he arrived there.

he pitched his camp on the banks of the Jamna at Simugarh, three miles from Akbarábád, the same spot where Dará Shikoh and 'Álamgír had fought. He drew all the boats on the Jamna up to his encampment and made a strong bridge, over which he strictly prohibited anyone to pass. But such a panic ruled the hearts of emperor, officers, and soldiers, that, though the enemy was a week's, even more than a week's, march distant from them, they had not the courage to cross the bridge, but all lay paralyzed, lost in visions of regret, and doubt and suspense drove the colour from Jahándár Sháh's cheeks.

At last, on the 25th Zíhijh, 1123 A.H. [1712 A.D.], Sultán Farrukhsiyar, supported by the Saiyads, arrived at the banks of the Jamna, where he found neither ford nor boat. He saw nothing but the running water that swept past him.* On the third day Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, despairing of boats or boatmen, left Farrukhsiyar to Hasan 'Ali Khán's care, and went along the bank of the river in search of a ford. He went six miles and at last found a shallow place where men were crossing, and, although without camping equipage, he crossed at once with five hundred horse that he had with him and occupied the opposite bank.

If God thou trust, no need of human oar :
He pilots safely to the further shore.

He then sent messengers to call the prince, who on the following night mounted an elephant, crossed the river as Moses had crossed the Nile, calling on the name of God : and his whole force passed over with him in safety.

* I have had to modify and omit some silly conceits here.

The prince plunged in, who fortune dared to try,
 And passed, by God upborne, the river o'er :
 Next morn that shed her light across the sky,
 This news unwelcome to Jahándár bore :
 " Muhammad 'Azím's son, his lamp and eye,
 " Hath come like pearl that ocean yields to shore :
 " His flag a crocodile unfurls above the flood ;
 " Basks like a crocodile his sword in seas of blood."

Jahándár Sháh had fancied it would be extremely difficult for anyone to cross the river, and, when he had received repeated confirmations from the point where Farrukhsiyar had arrived, he advanced to oppose him. It was the 11th of the month, the day after the 'Id-i-Qurbán, 1123 A. H [1712 A.D.]. But, with his lucklessness, it took him from dawn to sunset to traverse the six miles that separated them, and it was evening when he reached his tents with broken heart. Next day the Saiyads, who were anxious to dry their arms and ammunition, which had been wetted in crossing the river, considered it better not to move out. Jahándár Sháh was in no hurry to fight and would not venture to open the attack. On the 13th of the month, at the close of the third watch of day, the Saiyads fixed their standards upon elephants and advanced to attack the imperial army. Sultán Ma'izz-u'ddin Jahándár Sháh also mounted an elephant as soon as he saw the Saiyads' troops in motion, and took the field without marshalling his men. Khán Nusrat Jang posted himself with a large force on the emperor's right. When Nusrat Jang engaged Hasan 'Ali Khán, Jahándár Sháh's archers poured such a shower of arrows on the Saiyads that Hasan 'Ali Khán, covered with numberless wounds, fell from the elephant's howdah to the ground and became senseless. There he lay with some companions. But Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, maintaining his

coolness, made a detour and fell upon Jahándár Sháh's rear. The fact is, that Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán had been able to work his way round owing to the apathy and connivance of the Túrání nobles, such as Nizámu'lmuik, Muhammad Amín Khán, and others, who were tired of Jahándár Sháh's bad habits and shameless misconduct, and they had written letters previous to the battle agreeing to permit this manœuvre. The arrival of 'Abdullah Khán at Jahándár Sháh's rear and the death of Kokaltásh Khán, paymaster-general, who was the commander of the imperial army, and Jahándár Sháh's trusted friend, occurred simultaneously, and led Jahándár Sháh to waver. "When times are hard, the doors and walls come tumbling in upon us." Strange to say, when Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán showed himself in the rear, Jahándár Sháh's elephant became unmanageable, and began to attack and kill horsemen around him:—

All thy hosts forsake thee, seeing in the dust thy banner laid ;
 When thy foot shall slip beneath thee, think not thee a friend shall aid :
 Song of nightingale in autumn should be burdened with a sigh,
 And when fortune turneth from thee, none will turn a friendly eye.

By the disturbing influences of adverse fortune and death-foreboding fate, his troops that were clustered like the Pleiades round the emperor were scattered far and wide like the stars of the Greater Bear. The situation was as in the lines:—

Shut in between two ills I stand,
 To fortune's darts a mark ;
 My brow in front a bow appears,
 My rear with death is dark.

It was a strange coincidence, brought about by failing and fickle fortune, which befel the love-sick and forgetful emperor, that Khán Jahán Kokaltásh fell dead in the front

and Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán attacked his rear at the same moment, and simultaneously the Túránis and his own army, on left and right, poured in a shower of arrows:—

From these quick-succeeding buffets
Can we find a shelter, where?
Now the pelting rain hath caught us
Out upon a desert bare.

There was nothing left for him under the circumstances but to fly, and he was driven to turn in one direction, while La'l Kunwar, the joy of his heart, fled in another, both alike bewildered and without refuge.

Two foxes dwelt together once, a pair
Who solaced each with joy the other's heart.
A prince with hawk and panther reached their lair
And forced those faithful mates to run apart.
“Hole seeker!”, Vixen cried to Reynard, “say,
“Where shall I go to meet my love once more?”
“If aught perchance,” said he, “of me survives to-day,
“Look for it in the city in a furrier's store.”

“*Mintaghi't Tair*:” by Shekh Farídu'ddin 'Attár.

After wandering about for a week, the emperor cut off his beard and moustache and appeared in the morning at Asafu'ddaulah Nawáb Asad Khán's gate.

When the emperor, Ma'izzu'ddin Jahándar Sháh, des-
Detailed narrative of pairing of crown and throne, took
Jahándar Sháh's end. to flight with a broken heart, fate
unkindly tore from him his mistress, La'l Kunwar, who
held a moment of his company a thousand times dearer
than empire, and an hour's separation from him more
insupportable than a thousand years of eternal pain.
At a time, when he lost the empire of India, and the fear
of the sword of Death, who was hastening at double

speed to overtake him, possessed his heart ; when, for all his glory and his countless retinue, nought but fear and danger met his eye ; when his cup was brimming over with calamity, envious fate and vengeful fortune robbed him of that one solace whose eye could banish all his sorrows, and suffered not these two sympathizing hearts to dwell together and to comfort each other in their lonely wanderings for the six or seven days which were to them more than a thousand years. When they met at last in the prison-cell, which was dark and narrow, significant of their fate, they were so overjoyed that they forgot all their distresses ; but jealous fate and malicious time, could not tolerate their bliss for even two short weeks, and doomed them to part for ever ; so, when Farrukhsiyar approached the city, some cruel executioners entered the fort of Sháhjahánábád with two or three nobles, and butchered like a sheep the lovelorn emperor, who had obliterated from his mind all thoughts of the world and empire ; severed his head from his body, threw it on an elephant, and brought and laid it before Farrukhsiyar, who was encamped six miles from the capital. When Jahándár Sháh's corpse was brought to the emperor, Khán Nusrat Jang was killed out of revenge at the request of Prince Muhammad Karím's mother, who prayed the emperor to do her this justice ; and the two corpses were exposed together.

When the emperor, Ma'izzu'ddin Jahándár Sháh, alighted on the ground from his flight with La'l Kunwar. elephant, La'l Kunwar seated her distracted and excited lover beside her in her bullock-carriage, and drove to Akbarábád. They passed the night together somewhere, and set out again before daybreak for Sháhjahánábád : but they had

hardly travelled more than six miles when they were somehow separated. By bad luck Jahándár Sháh disclosed himself to Ásafu'ddaulah about six hours earlier than Nusrat Jang. They say that, when Ásafu'ddaulah was apprized of Jahándár Sháh's arrival in this wretched plight, he first of all asked him how it was that, having had so many horse, nobles, elephants, artillery, he came alone, and why? Jahándár Sháh, on hearing these disturbing words, replied: "The love of La'l Kunwar so possesses my heart that I care not a whit to part with the meretricious charms of this beldam world. So I have divorced the false fair one for my true love's sake." Ásafu'ddaulah, when he received this answer, hung his head a moment in thought, and when he raised it, bid them to place a chain on Jahándár Sháh's feet and imprison him in the fort where he had lately ruled. His servants complied with this order, which surpassed in baseness any ever given before. They say that, when he was first lodged in prison, Jahándár Sháh said to Ásafu'ddaulah: "After all the assistance which Khán Nusrat Jang has rendered me, even fighting for me in the field; after the appreciation shown by the now unfortunate me of your family, although people who have seen many marvellous unexpected evils perpetrated, might have imagined it possible, yet I could not have dreamed of your committing an unkindness such as you have done and are doing. At the time when an enemy would pity me for my misfortune, how can a friend, who had originally so openly befriended me in the face of the whole world and put me in possession of my aim, now turn round and put his foot on the neck of my hope and go so far to prove his hostility to me? As it is, if La'l Kunwar were given

"to me to cheer my sinking heart for the few days
 "that remain till the death that is sure to be meted out
 "to me comes, I am sure it would help me to overlook your
 "ingratitude and it may make amends for your cruelty.
 "It is clear that, from the time of Amír Taimúr to now,
 "there has not been one so depraved, dissipated, and
 "shameless as this wretch, and you, who have since the
 "days of my grandfather 'Alamgír filled the illustrious
 "office of wazír to this empire, knew my habits and
 "conduct from my earliest youth; then why did not
 "you, father and son, restrain and advise me in the
 "beginning of my reign, when all was in your power,
 "and not leave me to my own evil devices? If you had
 "done as I say, things would not have come to this
 "ignominious end. Now that fate has done her worst
 "and I am perfectly helpless, although no person in his
 "full senses should make so light a request [as ask for
 "his mistress] under such grave griefs as lie before me,
 "yet, as my passions are beyond my control and love
 "holds me in thrall like Majnún and Farhád, I beg for
 "her, and you yourself know that whatever one does in
 "cases of sickness or absence of self-control, is no cause
 "of shame or reproach."

They say that Nawáb Asad Khán was moved to
 tears when he heard this appeal and brought him La'í
 Kunwar. The words that came to Jahándár Sháh's lips
 when he saw her were: "Never mind the past: thank
 God we are as we are." But envious fate could not bear
 their union for more than twenty-five days [from the
 time of his defeat], and so on the 13th Muharram, 1123
 A.H. [1711 A.D.], he was beheaded by the orders of
 Farrukhsiyar, at whose feet his head was laid.

What is this world, unstable place of sighs ?
 Earth hath no spot but stain of blood is there :
 No friend or foe may hope, when troubles rise,
 The pity of the cruel world to share.

During the short time that Nusrat Jang had his heart in the fight, he succeeded in driving Hasan 'Alī Khán out of his howdah and disabling him and several of his companions, some of whom he killed and some rendered *hors de combat*. 'Abdullah Khán, shunning an encounter with Nusrat Jang, appeared with the connivance of the Túránis in Jahándár Sháh's rear. It is certain that Nusrat Jang held his ground with his army and officers, maintaining a fire and waiting for Jahándár Sháh to show himself. Although the emperor fled from the field about an hour before sunset, Nusrat Jang continued to maintain his position there until a watch and a-half of night had passed. They say that 'Abdu'ssamad Khán Ibrári, who led Nusrat Jang's van, and other well-known officers, who were there with him and shared his counsels, said to him that, although Jahándár's absence was unexplained, yet, as Sultán Farrukhsiyar was on the open field with but a few of his men, they would, if the word were given, seize him and bring him in with folded hands; and that this could be effected by courage without much fighting; that, if Jahándár Sháh were found in the morning, it was all the better, and if he had been killed, they could raise their prisoner Farrukhsiyar to the throne, and he would certainly be laid under a heavy obligation to them. Nusrat Jang who, with all his wisdom and sagacity, was then doomed to lose his judgment, would only say, "until we know "for certain the safety of Jahándár Sháh or his eldest

“son, A‘izzu‘ddin, it would be foolish and impolitic to stir hand or foot for the capture of Farrukhsiyar.” Although his friends represented to him that he would on the morrow have it in his power to seat either of the rivals on the throne, he only replied that he must know the truth about the emperor and his son before he attempted to capture Farrukhsiyar, otherwise it would be a mistake. At last, after a watch and a-half of night had passed, filled with regret, he slowly withdrew in unbroken order with all his men from the field to Sháhjahánábád, beating his drums and keeping up an artillery fire as he marched. Sultán Farrukhsiyar looked on this as providential assistance.

On the same day that Jahándár Sháh arrived at Sháhjahánábád alone and helpless, Nusrat Jang’s return. but later in the evening, Nusrat Jang brought back safe to his home all his property and baggage and his companions; and the people who witnessed his return saw him come back with all the pomp and retinue which had marked the departure of this king-making noble. After he had seen and told all to his father, he held council with him and proposed to raise batteries outside the city and fight once more, for victory might favour him now. But ‘Umdatulmulk Asad Khán Asafu‘ddaulah dissuaded him from this expiring effort and futile enterprise, and said to him: “When on this first occasion you swept the fort of every-
“thing, and took the field with hundreds of thousands
“of cavalry and officers, and have been so disgraced
“and discredited in the eyes of the world that the
“emperor has had to return horseless and unescorted;
“now, to-day, when you have not a penny of treasure
“and your troops have been so sorely defeated that

“the dread of the Saiyads still makes them tremble;
“and they have become demoralized; when they
“have given everything up to plunder and have
“fled without showing fight, what hope can you have
“that they will remain staunch in the field? It is
“better to withdraw your hand from this dangerous
“task, which has baffled you once and which you cannot
“achieve by a thousand efforts. As we have nothing
“left but regret, it seems better for us to accept our
“fate and be content. To do more than this is to lose all,
“and this seems best. Although Jahándár Sháh may
“maintain a semblance of authority for a few days by
“gathering a flock of dissolute and bad characters round
“him, yet he will be only like the lamp which, though it
“emits a stronger light just at the point of extinction, lasts
“only for a moment and then goes out; so it is better
“for us, before he can raise a disturbance and cause blood-
“shed, to deliver him up a prisoner, and we must send
“a letter of congratulation to Farrukhsiyar. Possibly he
“may be led, by this important service chance has enabled
“us to render him, to forego the extinction of our family
“and so far favour us as to overlook our past conduct.”

To this Nusrat Jang replied: “Every one knows how
“that, after Kháqán Mu‘azzam Bahádur Sháh’s death,
“Jahándár Sháh was so hopeless of his cause that he
“resolved to fly to Multán, which had for a long period
“been his province, when I came to his help with trea-
“sure and troops and encouraged him. The result was
“the death of the three princes and two of their sons by
“the sword. Now that Farrukhsiyar is the emperor of
“India and I, the helpless murderer of his father, brother
“and uncles, shall have to appear before him, how will
“he be satisfied without taking his revenge? This is

“better. If we imprison the innocent Jahándár Sháh, “because it suits us now to place Farrukhsiyar under an “obligation, well and good : but let the anxious me, who “am awaiting the reward of my deeds, fly to the Dakhin “and try to save my life for awhile. I cannot hope to “live at the capital.” Ásafu’ddaulah again advised his son, saying: “Notwithstanding that we have committed “thousands of admitted mistakes and countless errors, “no emperor has ever called us to account, not to say “punished us. As our existence is a prop to the state “and our removal involves its fall, whoever the emperor “be, he will make us wazírs.” Although Nusrat Jang desired to release Jahándár Sháh and himself fly to the Dakhin on his own account, Ásafu’ddaulah considered these proposals out of place and went on: “To-day “Jahándár Sháh has made no resistance and you have “made none : there is such a famine of wheat and barley “that people are clamouring for grain in the streets and “markets. What then will be the state of things when “you try to raise a riot and hushed tumults are again “excited? Beyond doubt thousands of people will die “of famine through your act, and it is far from just that “one man should for his own sole sake sacrifice a thou- “sand lives. It can surely end in nothing but eternal “punishment on the day of judgment. It is better for “you to seize the rope of trust in God, and stand on “the ground of the common weal of humanity; to await “your fate, patiently looking to the mercies of God. “If He helps you, it is well ; if not, no one can live for “ever. It is better that you should not place yourself “among the disloyal.” When Ásafu’ddaulah got so far, Khán Nusrat Jang yielded to his father, devoted himself to death, and consented to the imprisonment of Jahándár

Sháh. They accordingly imprisoned him and sent a letter of congratulation to Farrukhsiyar, who was much pleased on perusing it, and, after taking possession of the fort of Akbarábád and staying there for a few days to settle the administration, marched to Sháhjahánábád, where he encamped at Khizrábád, which is three miles east of the city on the bank of the Jamna, which in old days was called Jún. To make Asafu'ddaulah and Nusrat Jang feel more secure, he sent them the Word of God by Muhammad Ja'far Yráni, his old head-steward. This Muhammad Ja'far bore for five years under Farrukhsiyar the title of Tuqarrab Khán and continued to be his head-steward. He placed his hand upon the Holy Volume to convey assurance to the father and son. It is certain that, within a short time after Nusrat Jang's murder, that hand was attacked by some disease and lost the sense of feeling and the power to move, and an incessant tormenting pain gradually reduced the owner's strength until, at the end of five years, he died of this withering hand, saying with infinite regret, "It is all the effect of that false oath." His medical attendants much wished to bring about a reabsorption of the matter which had settled in his system and carry it off in the circulation with the aid of medicines, but the bezoar stone induced the symptoms of arsenic, and the antidote became as deadly as the poison. When honey became gall and camphor ointment diamond grit, they ceased to treat him and prescribed asses' milk, but even that failed to sustain him.

Although Nusrat Jang was wise enough to foresee the result of an interview and said to his father that he should go alone

Nusrat Jang's death.

first to see the emperor and ascertain the state of his feelings towards him and then let him venture, if safe, to meet the emperor while he was riding out, yet Āsafu'ddaulah was so confident of the overwhelming credit of his family and its past and present claims, that he persisted in following the wrong course, and said that it would be fatal to the emperor to crush their family and to give to an upstart the office of wazir, which had been the heirloom of their family for a century, so no one in his senses could ever think of removing them. What was present to Āsafu'ddaulah's mind did actually occur after the fall of his family. At last he took Nusrat Jang with him to Khizrábád and next day ventured on an interview. They say that, when Nusrat Jang entered the imperial quarters, he noticed the manners of the occupants were hostile and remarked to his father: "Even now it is not too late to go back. If you allow me, I shall meet the emperor to-morrow on the road when riding out." As his end had come, Āsafu'ddaulah harshly answered: "This is no place to talk. What you say is not to the point." Nusrat Jang, thinking it wrong to disobey his father, went to meet his fate :—

In this our place of sojourn
For ever none can last :
Of Jam and of Sikandar
All but the name is past.

It is certain that, on their entering the emperor's presence, he treated Āsafu'ddaulah with such marked kindness that the mistrust of both father and son was dissipated. Nusrat Jang was honoured with the wazir's state robe and obtained an imperial letter appointing him head of the Foreign Office. Āsafu'ddaulah was presented with a court dress at the imperial hands and permitted to return

home. When he was leaving, the emperor took his hand in his and addressed him: "You are very old, your noble self, and weak. You may go home, but leave our brother Nusrat Jang at our court for inquiry into some matters of importance, and we will send him shortly after you." Asafu'ddaulah went home terror-stricken by this ambiguous incident. They say that Nusrat Jang whispered in his father's ear, when he was turning to leave: "You are now leaving poor me here to die. We can never hope to meet again till the resurrection." As things were now beyond his power, the old man could only regret and repent his venture. He went home overwhelmed with pain and sorrow, leaving Nusrat Jang in the grasp of death's henchman.

In the evening the emperor asked Nusrat Jang why he had killed his brother and father. Nusrat Jang knew what the emperor meant by asking him this question, and replied: "Your servant killed them both with his own hand and had girt himself to take Your Majesty's life, but as things have taken the turn they have, Your Majesty has me in your power." He had barely uttered these words when the executioners threw a leather strap round his neck and strangled him on the spot; and, after that they inflicted some cuts on his belly to make sure of his death, threw him out in front of the imperial tent.

It is a well-established fact that, when the news of Nusrat Jang's death reached Asafu'ddaulah, who was then more than eighty years of age, as soon as he realized the death of this his clever and his only son, he hung down his head a few minutes in thought and then said to those around him: "As I have lost my senses now,

"count up the figures of these words : " Ibráhím Ismá'íl rá qurbán namúd."* It was a coincidence that the number corresponded with the date of Nusrat-Jang's murder, and they were all astonished at the quickness and ready ingenuity of Ásafu'ddaulah's keen intellect. That, in the midst of such excitement and agitation, he should be able to devise a chronogram marked by so great beauty, is indeed a proof of his perfect imperturbability. The beauty of this chronogram is, that the real name of Ásafu'ddaulah Asad Khán was Muhammad Ibráhím, and the first of Nusrat Jang's names was Muhammad Ismá'íl, and, as a matter of fact, Ásafu'ddaulah had with his eyes open handed over Nusrat Jang to death:—

One drank the wine of gladness,
 Drank, and he passed away ;
 And this his cup of sadness
 Quaffed, and he passed away :
 Joy, like a meteor sparkling,
 Flashed, and it passed away ;
 Grief, like the tempest darkling,
 Brooded and passed away :
 The lamp that lit our banquet,
 The rose with petals gay ;
 Each had its time of triumph,
 Triumphed and passed away.

And so, too, this bold soldier was not suffered to live for ever.

After Nusrat Jang's murder they brought Jahándár Sháh's head and trunk and threw them out on the ground in front of the emperor's quarters. Next day, the

* This is a chronogram. The translation is "Abraham sacrificed Ishmael." Muhammadans say that it was not Isaac but Ishmael who was offered up by his father,

14th Muharram, 1123 A.H. [1711 A.D.], Farrukhsiyar, with all the imperial insignia, entered the city amid great pomp and show. An historian relates that he witnessed the entry and saw the head of Jahándár Sháh, which had once touched the sun in glory, carried on a pole and his body on an elephant in front of Farrukhsiyar's procession, and the corpse of the bold Nusrat Jang tied head downwards to an elephant's tail bringing up the rear; and they were thrown out before the gate of the fort when the procession reached the palace. For three days the late emperor's body lay exposed on the ground, when unexpectedly on the fourth night rain fell and washed the corpses and led to their burial :—

See Nusrat Jang, whose horse with clanking sound

Trod Dakhin plains, victim to whose renown

Jahán Sháh fell, now trodden to the ground;

His corpse turned, like his fortune, upside down.

His feet to tail of elephant they tied

And every footstep kicked his trailing crown :

His head was earthward and his feet in air :

Such fates inverted in the world we share.

They buried Sultán Jahándár Sháh in Humáyún's tomb, which is set apart as a burial-place for murdered princes, and Nusrat Jang somewhere near the same tomb. For three or four years no tomb was erected to Nusrat Jang's memory, until at last Saiyad Husen 'Ali permitted some of Nusrat Jang's eunuchs, who were in his service at the city, to erect a tomb. They then raised a memorial building over his grave which had remained till then level with the earth. They cut this couplet, composed by Ásafu'ddaulah, on the tombstone; and, reading it, one feels in truth it might have well been inscribed on Ya'qúb's chamber of sorrow :—

At eve with tears the messenger thus to the exiles said :

'His son Ismá'il Ibráhím a sacrifice hath made.'

After Nusrat Jang's murder Farrukhsiyar made over his residence and all his furniture and cash to Amíru'lumara Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán, and Ásafu'ddaulah's house in the same way to Qázi 'Abdullah, who had been entitled Sharí'at Khán in Bahádur Sháh's time, and was now exalted with the titles of Mu'azzam Khán, Mír Jumla, and Khán Khánán Yár Khán. Ásafu'ddaulah was allotted the house belonging to Ibráhím Khán, a son of Amíru'lumara, 'Ali Mardán Khán Qandahári, and he was excused from the anxieties of further service. The crushed old man lived for four years to witness the surprises of fortune and departed in the enjoyment of a good name. The line of the succession of office ended with him, and certainly after Nusrat Jang there was no member of the family left fit to support the dignity and power of the exalted office which that family had so long enjoyed.

Yúsuf Khán, Ásafu'ddaulah's grandfather, lived in the reign of Sháh Safi, King of Persia, who succeeded his grandfather, Sháh 'Abbás. The Qaisar of Rúm, taking advantage of Sháh Safi's minority and inability to manage affairs, sent some páshás with a large army to seize the province of 'Iráq. This formidable force overran and plundered Tabrez and Azarbaeján, and marched for the capital, Isfahán. As Sháh Safi was unequal to the difficult task of repelling them, Yúsuf Khán undertook it. He met the hosts of the invaders with the small force which he could at the moment muster, and after a severe engagement many of the páshás were captured and killed by the army of 'Iráq. The Rúmí soldiers fled home.

Yúsuf Khan victoriously pursued the routed enemy and permitted them not even to drink water in Sháh Safi's territory, but drove them in disgrace out of the province. The enemy were reduced to such straits as to enter into a treaty binding themselves never to attack 'Iráq. From that time till 1133 A.H. [1721 A.D.], when the Safwi dynasty was exterminated by Mahmúd, grandson of Mír Wais Ghilza, who suddenly swept down from Qandahár on Isfahán, and massacred Sultán Husen and all his family, the Rúmís never broke that treaty. When Sháh Safi heard the joyful news of Yúsuf Khan's victory, he sent a robe and other presents to him by a confidential messenger. It so happened that Yúsuf Khan was drunk and beyond self-control, when the bearer of the gifts arrived. It is certain that, when he saw the robe, he was so incontinently drunk that he said: "In return for the service which I performed, one "which was too great for powerful emperors to perform, "he should have sent me his sister and not a lot of old "threads woven together like that." The messenger carried the words uttered by Yúsuf Khan to Sháh Safi, who sent his sister without further hesitation to him. The offspring of their union was Zu'lfaqár Khan, father of Asad Khan Asafu'ddaulah. They say that Yúsuf Khan lived in great state and grandeur until Sháh Safi attained manhood and began to administer the state with firmness. He then resolved to punish Yúsuf Khan, who had now grown old, for his insolence in making the demand he had made. The order went out for the murder of Yúsuf Khan and his wife, but they heard the startling announcement and secretly set out for Hindústán. Their son, Zu'lfaqúr Khan, had already set out for Hindústán by an unfrequented route, and,

On hearing of the order, he hastened to reach his journey's end. Sháh Safi's emissaries overtook Yúsuf Khán and his wife near Hirát and poisoned them. When Zu'lfakár Khán came to India, the Emperor Sháhjahán created him a noble and gave him to wife the sister of Ja'far Khán, son of Sádiq Khán, who was Ásaf Jáh's uncle's son. In a short time the emperor raised him to the highest dignity, that of wazír, and made him the envy of the ancient nobility. His worthy son, Asad Khán Ásafu'ddaulah, was also raised to noble rank in Sháhjahán's reign, and was honored by being made one of the 'Darshani Amírs,' the number of whom was limited to a select few. The meaning of the term 'Darshani' is this. Early in the morning before sunrise His Majesty the Emperor Sáhib-i-Qirán Sáni* used to open his window with his own hand, and these few young and handsome nobles were specially permitted to salute him then and there. After Sháhjahán's imprisonment, Asad Khán Ásafu'ddaulah was for forty years 'Álamgír's wazír and prospered as an administrator. After 'Álamgír's death Kháqán Mu'azzam created him Wakíl-i-Mutlaq, a position to which no one had ever risen before under Bábar's dynasty save Ásaf Jáh 'Itimádu'ddaulah, and he enjoyed at Sháhjahánábád a degree of credit equal to that of the imperial princes themselves, until, on the capture of Jabándár Sháh, his whole house was swept away by the wrath of Farrukhsiyar as by a flood.

When Farrukhsiyar was left master of the field, he History of Farrukhsiyar resumed? searched for Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán. The men employed to search for him found the gallant soldier at midnight lying among

* A title by which Sháhjahán was known.

a heap of the slain and brought him to the emperor. Although he might well have been slain during the day, no one had drawn a sword upon him,* and now he recovered in a short time under skilful surgical treatment, and recovered his senses and regained strength. 'Abdullah Khán returned after daybreak from pursuit of Jahándár Sháh, and presented to Farrukhsiyar as trophies of victory Jahándár's imperial umbrella and the golden throne known as 'Kanchan Sumer.'† Churáman Ját had established himself between Sháhjahánábád and Akbarábád, cut off communication, plundered and carried away Jahándár Sháh's tents and the baggage of his troops, and had so completely denuded Farrukhsiyar of tents and camp equipage that, at the moment of his victory, there was not to be had even one old tent in which the emperor might be seated to hold a levée. At last, after prolonged search, they found a tent-wall, which was black as night with the smoke of a kitchen; with this they made an awning over the emperor's head and they placed a tiny throne for him under it, and Jahándár's nobles came and secured themselves by paying court to him. Three days later Sa'dullah Khán, son of 'Ináyatullah Khán, a Kashmíri, who was Jahándár Sháh's household steward, brought in and pitched on the site of Jahándár's camp, the imperial audience tent which had escaped the hands of the Játs, because it had been enclosed by four walls : and the emperor shifted his quarters to this tent. The day before he moved over, Muhammad Amín Khán and other Túrání nobles had gone with Nizámu'lmuik in pursuit of Jahándár Sháh.

* He had been wounded by an arrow only, it would seem.

† *Sumer* is the Olympus of the Hindús and *Kanchan* is gold. Thus the throne was named 'Golden Olympus.'

After a day and night they heard a rumour that Nusrat Jang had again seated Jahándár Sháh on the throne, and was posted outside the capital waiting the approach of Farrukhsiyar. On this the emperor held a council, and, after a halt of one day, hastened to the capital and arrived there. The khuṭba was read and gold and silver coin struck in his name. He took possession of the fort and with it Jahándár Sháh and other imprisoned princes came into his hands. He had an amicable interview with Nusrat Jang, but subsequently relieved himself from fear of molestation at his hands, and applied himself to the administration of the capital, where he arranged everything as he wished. Two days after 'Abdullah Khán's departure, the emperor paid a visit to Husen 'Ali Khán, and, after inquiries as to his health and profuse expressions of interest in him, returned to his private quarters; but Husen 'Ali Khán measured the emperor's language and mode of conduct and wrote a letter secretly to his brother, Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, to the effect that, after his departure, the emperor's true character had been reflected as in a mirror; a man insensible of obligations, and perfidious, a promise breaker, and dishonorable; that under such circumstances it behoved him to act in his own interests and not be at the emperor's nod. 'Abdullah Khán did as advised in the letter and took up his residence in the house which had belonged to Kokaltásh Khán in Jahándár Sháh's time, and appropriated the cash and other property which was there, until the emperor arrived in the fort and divided out the houses of nobles as he had promised. Among these, Nusrat Jang's house was allotted to Husen 'Ali Khán. The emperor's will was carried out for seventeen days, but from the eighteenth self-seekers and sedition-mongers falsely represented

to him that the property that had been in Nusrat Jang's and Kokaltash Khán's houses when confiscated, consisted of treasure belonging to the four late princes and of the revenue of all parts of India ; that these houses and all they contained were now in the possession of the two Saiyads ; that whatever cash and property had been in the fort, from gold coins to scraps of iron, had been used up by Jahándár Sháh in paying his troops before he took the field. And they further said that every one who could talk had for many years back been remarking how the youngest of Bahádur Sháh's descendants would eventually come to the throne, and after him a Saiyad would place the crown on his own head, and this idle speculation was so current that there was not an ear which had not heard it. They whispered this to the emperor, adding that no doubt the Saiyad who was to usurp the throne and crown would be one of the two brothers. These mischief-makers by dint of repetition persuaded the emperor of the truth of their stories. He was inexperienced and had no knowledge of the world, and he incautiously evinced his incipient distrust of the Saiyads, but they were so firmly established he could effect nothing against them. At last he was himself obliged to call on Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán, hereafter to be called Amíru'lumara, and Saiyad 'Abdullah Khán, now to be designated Quṭbu'lmuḥ, at their houses to make explanations. After violent oaths and protestations he took off his turban and placed it on Amíru'lumara's head. He then sat for a while and returned to his palace. Thus he removed for the time the coldness which had arisen between them. But, as the fates were driving the emperor and the Saiyads to cross-purposes, this first reconciliation was ineffectual ; nay,

their concealed antagonism daily grew more intense, and by degrees ill-feeling came to burn so high that the efforts of a thousand peace-makers to extinguish it were in vain. The emperor conceived the idea of murdering the two Saiyads, and became so bent on this and the extinction of their family, that he gave no other thought a place in his heart and cherished but this one difficult, unworthy, and universally abhorred crime. Night and day he was devising schemes until he heard of the rebellion of Rájá Ajít Singh, who looked upon himself as the head of all the Rájput rajas.

The father of this ill-advised rebel was Mabárája Rájá Ajít Singh's Jaswant Singh, son of Sháhjahán's rebellion.

maternal uncle, who enjoyed the dignity of a Haft-Hazári and commanded 7,000 horse. Besides holding this rank, he surpassed other Rájput territorial chiefs in the number of his armed followers, the extent of his territory, and the abundance of his treasure. In 1124 A.H. [1712 A.D.], Amíru'lumara Husen 'Ali Khán Bahádur Fíroz Jang was despatched by the emperor to quell the disturbances raised by Ajít Singh, who had put 50,000 cavalry in the field; and he set out with twenty-two officers. When he approached the rája's capital, the latter fled, and was so overpowered with fear that he travelled for three stages on foot and passed through that mountainous country in which it was impossible to travel on horseback. But while Amíru'lumara was pursuing him to cut him off and desolate his country, suddenly a series of letters from the emperor began to come to him from an unknown source, urging him to kill Amíru'lumara by any possible means; that all the property that minister possessed would on his death pass to him, and besides he would

attain offices and dignities which it had not entered into his forefathers' hearts to conceive. These letters came repeatedly. The rája astutely devised a plan by which he thought to save his country and honour, and secretly sent the whole of the emperor's letters to the Saiyad with an expression of submission. As the suspicions which the brothers had formed of the emperor's hostility were confirmed by the perusal of these letters, they were now certain of his designs, and Husen 'Ali Khán, with regrets impossible to describe, found it best to make peace with the rája on these terms : (1) that the rája's eldeset son should accompany the Saiyad to the imperial court ; (2) that the rája should make all arrangements for a marriage and send to the emperor one of his daughters, who was old enough to enter the imperial harem ; (3) that the rája should hold himself ready to appear without excuses in the emperor's presence when summoned by an imperial letter. After the conclusion of this peace Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán left Rája Ajít Singh's territory and visited the resplendent and sacred tomb of the departed saint Qutbu'laqtáb, the venerable teacher Mu'ínu'ddin Chishtí, and stayed for nearly two months at Ajmír, and decided many local questions which had been pending for a long time.

It happened that letters came to him while he was here from Qutbu'lmuik describing to him some unworthy treatment which he had received from the emperor, and informing him of the supremacy of Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán Yár Khán. The fact is, that from the day of his accession to the arrival of Amíru'lumara at Shábjahánábád, when the affair of Ajít Singh had been concluded, the whole of the imperial administration as well as the entire office of wazír lay in the hands of Mír Jumla. In

this interval Farrukhsiyar, finding no one to oppose him, determined to remove Qutbu'lmuik from the post of wazir, which he only nominally filled, and he sent him menacing messages every day urging him to resign the office: and fearing that the Saiyads might bring out of the fort one of the imprisoned princes, whose father had sat for a short time on the throne, and create a rebellion in his favour, he deprived of eye-sight his own younger brother, Humáyún Bakht, the son of Rúhullah Kháu's daughter; and he treated Jahándár Sháh's son, A'izzu'd-din, and Prince 'Ali Tabár, son of Muhammád 'Azím Sháh, son of 'Alamgír, in the same cruel way. When Qutbu'lmuik witnessd this tyranny, perpetrated at the instigation of Mír Jumla, he was unable to endure it, and sent messengers in haste to summon his brother, who came and enabled him to retain the office of wazir, and restored his influence and power not only as wazir but also in other matters, which had been impaired by the interference of Mír Jumla. But the emperor was unable to brook such independence, determined to get rid of the Saiyads, and resolved firmly to murder the two brothers. The better to plan this difficult undertaking, which was not destined to fulfilment, he pretended to visit a garden and spent some days out of the city. One day, when Amíru'lumara was on his way to pay court to the emperor, he was met by reliable informers who told him that a thousand sworn assassins were lying in wait round the place where the emperor was about to receive him, ready to kill him. The Saiyad, roused by this startling news, went like a lion alone into the emperor's presence and exhibited no fear. After a long interview he asked leave to return to the city, as God had blessed him with a son, and somehow or other he managed to

return to his home. He raised batteries round his house and prepared for a fight. Next day the emperor returned to his palace and sent him a friendly message, but to no purpose. For nine days hostile messages passed between them. On the ninth the emperor's mother went to Qutbu'lmulk's house and talked soothingly to him and tried to restore peace. She brought him with her to the emperor and smoothed the turbid waters between them. After this reconciliation it was stipulated that Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán Yár Khán should be removed from the emperor's immediate presence and be sent away to govern the most remote province, and that Amíru'lumara should be sent to the Dakhin in exchange with Nizámu'lmulk. When this was settled, Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán Yár Khán set out for 'Azímábád Patna, the headquarters of the government of the eastern provinces, a few days before Amíru'lumara left for the Dakhin. After Mír Jumla's return to Bengál, Amíru'lumara, who had remained till then in his own house, waited on the emperor under these conditions, that there should be no men in the fort save a few cyphers of eunuchs round the emperor's person. Under these circumstances he obtained permission to leave for his appointment. When departing he uttered a word of advice: "Never again empty this fort of its garrison at a servant's request, or you will repent it. To day for the second time I congratulate you on the sovereignty of India." Strange to say, four years later, when Amíru'lumara came from the Dakhin with a large army to Sháhjahánábád to overthrow and imprison this same emperor, the emperor behaved as though these words had not been uttered and emptied the fort of his troops as before, and made it over to the Saiyads' agents. It was this carelessness and

want of caution which brought upon his head that which fell upon it.

Mír Jumla, who had gone to the eastern provinces before Amíru'lumara left for the Dakhin, was utterly unable to maintain order. After a year, letters came to him secretly from the emperor summoning him to his side. Moving his army and baggage there, he first hurried with a few horsemen post-haste to Sháhjahán-ábád, where he lay for some days in concealment through fear of the Saiyads, but was eventually forced out of his hiding by the exertions and zeal of Quṭbu'lmuḥ, who left unused no means of ferreting him out. He had to retire in regret and disgrace to Láhaur. Here he spent some time under the protection of 'Abdu'sṣamad Khán Ibrári, and sent letters of submission to Quṭbu'lmuḥ, who, being of a very soft disposition, sent for him and once more permitted him to have access to the emperor; but now he did not possess that degree of influence which he had enjoyed before. He was merely on a level with other nobles until Amíru'lumara returned from the Dakhin, closed the chess-board and shut up the pieces.

When Husen 'Ali Khán went to the Dakhin, the emperor wrote secretly to Dá'úd Khán Panni, son of Ja'far Khán Bījápuri, who had been supreme there since the days of 'Álamgír. He had been trained in the same fields as Nusrat Jang and had achieved great exploits. In the time of Bahádur Sháh he had been lieutenant-governor under Nusrat Jang, who was the Názim of the whole provinces of the Dakhin, and had acquired still greater influence. He was now governor

Amíru'lumara Saiyad
Husen 'Ali Khán's de-
feat of Dá'úd Khán.

of Khándesh, when the emperor's letters were delivered to him, telling him to cut off Amíru'lumara's head as he was an enemy to the emperor, who earnestly wished and hoped that this should be done. Dá'úd Khán, who inherited from his ancestors as much folly as he did daring, was puffed up when he read the emperor's letters, encamped at the city of Burhánpur, which is four marches south of the Narbada, and prepared to fight. Amíru'lumara continued for a week to send conciliatory messages, while Dá'úd Khán adopted a disgusting tone of authority and used most extraordinary language in replying to the emissary. At last Amíru'lumara resolved to fight and by inducements and threats succeeded in drawing out Dá'úd Khán, who was clinging to the city because he relied on the fort, and had summoned the forces of the Dakhin from all quarters. The moment the city was vacated, Amíru'lumara seized upon the fort and hastened to engage Dá'úd Khán. When the engagement was raging fiercely and hotly, heavy rain began to fall, which cooled the ardour of the opponents, and the battle ceased. Amíru'lumara's troops were more than double of Dá'úd Khán's. They believed that the renewal of the fight depended only on the sun coming out: but, as the day was advanced far beyond noon and the sun was going down, they returned to their tents leaving the day undecided. At this moment Dá'úd Khán, reckoning this downpour of rain, which silenced the batteries, a providential aid, advanced with two or three thousand Panni horse from the left side, where an attack was not expected, charged the main body of Amíru'lumara's army, and swept them away before him, scattering like the dispersed stars of Ursa Major the ranks that had been as closely compacted as the

Pleiades. With an arrow from his own bow he brought down Rustam Khán, master of the ordnance in the Dakhin, who had come to that province with Amíru'l-umara, and then, mounting an elephant, he killed with another arrow Asálat Khán, who had in 'Álamgír's time been known as Sultán Názir, and had for many years acted as agent to the Prince Muhammad 'Azím Sháh. While this fight was going on, Dá'úd Khán on his elephant kept shouting with the utmost boldness and presumption: "Where is Amíru'lumara till he sees how the brave carry the day?" Mír Mushrif, a resident of Lucknow, a man famous for his size and bodily strength, who led the van of Amíru'lumara's army, brought his elephant face to face with Dá'úd Khán's and tried to engage him with his spear, saying: "I am Amíru'lumara: What do you want?" Dá'úd Khán anticipated his onset by discharging a shower of arrows. Two arrows took effect and lodged in Mír Mushrif's neck, coming out behind. He began to sink under these two fatal wounds, when Dá'úd Khán's mahaut, getting a chance, inflicted blows with his goad on the Mír's body and completed his despatch. Amíru'lumara, who witnessed this scene, could no longer restrain himself, but quicker than lightning hurried into the fray. Fortunately, the moment he came up, a musket ball killed Dá'úd Khán. As soon as Dá'úd Khán died, the Panni Afgháns tried to take his elephant from the field, but Amíru'lumara's routed army, hearing of this success, turned upon the Afgháns and killed them in great numbers.

This victory gave new life to Qutbu'lmuik, who had been paralyzed since his brother's departure: and Farukhsiyar, who had grown bolder in the hope of Dá'úd Khán's success, became disheartened. In fact, when he

heard of Dá'úd Khán's death, he believed there was no officer left, either at headquarters or on service, capable of coping with Amíru'lumara. He determined to compass the destruction of Qutbu'lmuik and spent day and night devising plots. Strange to say, several times in a year disagreements arose which cut off all interviews between them, but after a short time were smoothed over by the intervention of prudent courtiers, who succeeded in bringing them together, when they made it up again in tears. But these tears were false, their promises faithless, and their pledges insincere; and so matters continued until the sixth year of the emperor's reign. In that year he deputed Rája Jai Singh Adhiráj, one of the grandsons of the Mírza Rája of Sháhjahán's time, and the head of all the Rájput rajas, to chastise Churáman Ját, who had for many years past made himself notorious as a highway robber between Akbārábád and Sháhjahánábád: and he gave him a large force and artillery. The rája besieged Churáman's fort and invested it for a whole year without result, until Saiyad Khán Jahán, governor of Ajmír, maternal uncle of Amíru'lumara and Qutbu'lmuik, was told off by the emperor to expedite this lame undertaking. When Saiyad Khán Jahán attacked the Ját on one side and the rája on the other, and were on the point of turning him out, the cunning fox opened up negotiations through Saiyad Khán Jahán and surrendered himself to the emperor. On being brought before the emperor he was permitted to reside under Qutbu'lmuik's protection and he promised to pay quit-money. But Rája Jai Singh, who had with several rival rajas exerted himself for a long time and lost many soldiers without succeeding in the task imposed on him, grew hot with jealousy after this compact, and determined

to feed the fire of his resentment some day before he died: through fear, however, of the Saiyad supremacy, he pretended to smother his rage and cover it with a semblance of indifference, and he now secretly combined with the emperor to take Quṭbu'lmuḥ's life.

Gabr and Muslim both amid their joy
The pangs of wordly unsuccess annoy.

The sparks of long-standing resentment, which had been for seven years smouldering in the bosom of the foolish emperor, now broke into flames, fanned by the rája who fed the fire with fuel, and he burned eagerly to press to-morrow's work into to-day. Khán Daurán had from his accession been in his confidence and had been raised by him. When he became aware of the emperor's intentions, he endeavoured to dissuade him from them. He said that this plot, pregnant with destruction, could only end in the ruin of both parties, for as well might he hope to net this game as the cleverest fowler with all his bait and snare hope to capture the fabled phoenix : and, even if he were so unexpectedly fortunate as to catch his victim, yet one drop of Saiyad Quṭbu'lmuḥ's blood, were it shed, would be the seed of a thousand tumults. Besides this, he pointed out that Amíru'lumara was waiting at Khujista Bunyád (Aurangábád) to catch the sound of this turmoil, when he would at once hasten with thousands of Hindí and Dakhini troops eager for blood, to mow down a harvest of human lives; that all the emperor's commanders were like foxes to a tiger when compared with him, and not one of them would have the courage to take the field against him; that it was better far to abandon this dangerous design and to pursue a safe course. The doomed and foolish emperor resented this prudent advice

and, his mother being a Kashmíri, he selected for his purposes Muhammad Murád Kashmíri, a man who had risen from the lowest grade of government service in Jahándár Sháh's time to the rank of a noble, and who had after that emperor's death been entered in the list of offenders who were liable to capital punishment, but his life had been spared on the entreaty of Quṭbu'l-mulk and Amíru'lumara, as he had been for many years a dependent and protégé of these brothers. He thus owed his life to them. Farrukhsiyar elevated him in a short time to the rank of Haft-Hazári and created him Madáru'l-muhámm with the title of Ruknu'ddaulah 'Itiqád Khán, and secretly bestowed on him presents amounting to lakhs of rupees, so that eventually the old Kashmíri, whose age had reached seventy years, was led away by the intoxication of wealth to forget the obligations of past favours, and, like those in their second childhood who share in the sports of children, tried to overthrow those two brave men, against whom not one imperial officer far or near dared draw his sword or even ventured to look them in the face.

Incaution marks my steps though youth be gone,
And age's doting visions urge me on.

And so, to assist in carrying out his foolish inimical designs, he recruited two thousand cavalry, who were merely beardless boys, and provided them with horses at his own expense.

Khán Daurán had enjoyed so close an intimacy with the emperor from his boyhood that the latter had no heart in any amusement unless Khán Daurán shared his enjoyment; but now 'Itiqád Khán's friendship put an end to this old connection, and the sweets of a long-standing

mutual affection were by the influence of a treacherously-infused salt turned to the bitterness of gall, until at last the emperor turned his face wholly from Khán Daurán and smiled upon Ruknu'ddaulah. He even went so far in his repugnance to Khán Daurán and his desire to ruin him that he tried to take his life. He repeatedly offered him poisoned food at table, but Khán Daurán, for all his great length of body, was more clever than all the short men of those degenerate days put together, and he managed to avert the fate intended for him by cheating the emperor's eye and changing the magic cups and plates that were sent him with the cleverness of a card-sharper. Things went so far that 'Itiqád Khán on one occasion rose up before the emperor and denounced the trick and called Khán Daurán offensive names. Khán Daurán submitted quietly to the indignity and appeared not to notice it. He pretended not to hear what he heard.

While the foolish emperor was bent upon the destruction of Khán Daurán, the latter considered his own life wrapped up in Quṭbu'mulk's safety, and, being convinced that the murder of the Saiyads would be only the prelude to his own ruin, he conveyed to Quṭbu'mulk immediate information of every plan privately entertained by the emperor, and thus each secret became public. At last Quṭbu'mulk, wearied of these daily dangers, sent letters post-haste to Amíru'lumara, summoning him to his side and telling him how matters stood. On this happening, Amíru'lumara first pretended to have secured a certain prince, the eldest son of a son of 'Alamgír Gházi, who had been brought up in Sewa's fortresses: and then, placing an empty howdah

Amíru'lumara Saiyad
Husen 'Ali marches
from the Dakhin.

which he carefully covered up, on an elephant, he brought it with him. When he came within three marches of the capital, he openly expressed his dissatisfaction with the emperor and his disloyalty, and declared to 'Itiqád Khán, who had come out to meet him, that it was utterly impossible for him and the emperor to be reconciled. The simple grey-beard, 'Itiqád Khán, fancying that Amíru'lumara was only overcome with anger because of the treatment accorded by the emperor to Qutbu'l-mulk, endeavoured to mollify him by entreaties, thinking by some trick or device to be able to get the new prince of Akbar's line into his own hands, and thus deprive the Saiyads of their cause of action, and then easily carry out his designs. The childish old man, influenced by these dreams, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, and after a long negotiation it was agreed that Amíru'lumara should be admitted into the emperor's presence to personally represent his grievances. Accordingly on the evening of Tuesday, the first of Rabí'u'sṣání, 1131 A.H. [1719 A.D.], Amíru'lumara removed the imperial guard from the fort and posted servants of his own in place of the emperor's. Having done this, he went in to the emperor and made the following arrangements with him: First, that the younger brother of Rája Sáhu, son of Rája Shambhá, son of Sewa, who had been imprisoned with his mother from the time of 'Álamgír, should be delivered to the armies of the Dakhin, who had marched up with Amíru'lumara, and that, in return for this, Amíru'lumara should hand over to the emperor the phantom prince, who was supposed to be in the howdah on the elephant, while the emperor was to place in the hands of the Saiyads the intriguing nobles

who had fanned the flame of discord between them and the emperor.

Each statesman for his selfish profit tries,
And huma feasts on huma's bones his eyes.

The emperor, anxious as he was foolish, at once, in the hope of gaining possession of the imaginary prince, prepared to fulfil his promise of releasing the Rája Shambhá's widow and her son. She was the mother of Rája Sáhu and her son was Sáhu's brother. And so he brought out of the fort these captives, who had for many years despaired of release, and gave them over to the Dakhin troops.

In short, Amíru'lumara Saiyad Hasan 'Ali Khán interviewed the emperor without ceremony, conversed with him directly without a mediary, and returned to his home. On Wednesday, the 20th of the same month, he wholly denuded the fort of the emperor's servants. Quṭbu'lmuḥk waited on the emperor and said that, as long as there was a servant of the emperor's in the fort, Amíru'lumara could not enter it. The foolish emperor was helpless and so fully complied with the demand for the removal of his guards and servants, that not one of his own retainers remained within the fort save two or three eunuchs of the seraglio, who were secretly in collusion with the Saiyads. As soon as all the preliminaries had been arranged according to the wishes of the brothers, Quṭbu'lmuḥk went first to the helpless emperor and expedited the release of Sáhu's mother and her son. Having succeeded in this, he desired to extort other promises. It happened that, in the course of conversation, the emperor's temper became ruffled, and he was so excited that he left the throne and went toward his

seraglio, uttering remarks derogatory to the Saiyads as men of that eminent stock,* and using many menaces and threats. Qutbu'lmuik, considering his position in danger from this rupture with the indiscreet Emperor, who was then still without troops, passed the night in the fort with all his soldiers ; and at sunrise on Tuesday, the 9th Rabí'u'ssáni, 1131 A.H. [1719 A.D.], he summoned the emperor to come out and sit on the throne. For all his calling Farrukhsiyar would not venture to leave the seraglio, replying only with silly and misplaced declamation. He even went so far as to say, adding oaths to his threats, "If I am from the loins of the "world-conquering Taimúr, I shall pay you off so well "that in ages to come tales shall be told of you to "warn servants who forget their position." The more intemperate the emperor grew, the more moderate became Qutbu'lmuik, when suddenly the situation was changed by an unexpected incident. It was briefly as follows.

Qutbu'lmuik desired to induce the emperor to come out of the female apartments and take his seat on the throne, so that he might in his presence punish the intriguing nobles, by whose incitements the flames of enmity between the Saiyads and the emperor had come to rage so fiercely ; and, after this display, having the emperor completely within his power, extort from him some valid pledges for the future, and give him a new lease of sovereignty. The Dakhin troops, who had been posted round the fort on the previous day, heard a rumour to the effect that Qutbu'lmuik had been killed within the fort, and that the Mughal army was ready to

* Saiyads are supposed to be lineal descendants of the Prophet's family.

attack the Saiyads. The rumour was false, but the timid and unsteady Dakhinis, who had for forty years felt the weight of the Mughal arm, and had always fled and been dispressed by the glitter of the sword of the Turk, as soon as they heard this false rumour, which started simultaneously with the appearance of the banners of Muḥammad Amín Khán Bahádur, who was coming up to interview Amíru'lumara Hasan 'Alī Khán, concluded that they would not one of them leave the city alive. The writer, who witnessed what followed, says that the cowardice and timidity he then saw astonished him beyond measure. Although they were in all some 20,000 lancers, they so lost their head that they fled, and the common people of the bázárs and streets turned out to beat them, and about two thousand of them were slain. This was all the more strange, for those who killed them were unarmed when they first attacked them. When a greengrocer or a baker stood up with a threatening air at his shop, calling on them to throw away their lances, they complied at a mere frown or nod; and when the shopkeepers had made themselves masters of their lances, they grew bolder and demanded their swords. When they had got their swords, they pulled the defenceless Dakhinis from their chargers and despatched them.* The power of resistance of these twenty thousand horsemen was so dissipated, that scores of them in their helplessness fell easy victims to the cruelties of one or another petty huckster, who attacked them unarmed. Then the mob dragged to the ground officers who rode on éléphants, and horses and arms and uniform and

* The original goes on—"to hell, their original abode." This is the bigotry of the Muhammadan writer, who is speaking of Hindús.

everything that the coward horde wore, was snatched away by curs of the market-place.

When this occurrence took place, Amíru'lumara, on the advice of Muhammad Amín Khán, who was then in private consultation with him, sent a message to Quṭbu'l-mulk, who had been in the fort from the previous day, saying that there was no course open except for him to seize Farrukhsiyar and to place one of the other imprisoned princes on the throne. The tumult which had happened had upset the calculations of the Saiyads, and now messages were repeatedly sent by Amíru'lumara to Quṭbu'l-mulk, urging him to place Farrukhsiyar in confinement, as was advised by Muhammad Amín Khán, who originated this move. So Quṭbu'l-mulk first summoned the emperor once again to come out of the harems, and the latter, suspecting the intention, tried to conceal himself, while, at the instigation of Muhammad Amín Khán, Amíru'lumara continued sending pressing injunction to his brother to act as desired. Quṭbu'l-mulk had nothing left but to send his own servants and adherents inside the harem and hurry the search. After inflicting a thousand ignominies and insults, they dragged forth with alas ! innumerable indignities, which I pray God He may never again permit men to see, this tall and powerful emperor, who in figure, physique, and manly beauty was perhaps the finest of all the descendants of Bábar that ever adorned a throne, knocked his turban off his head, and led him bare-headed and bare-footed, his neck in the grasp of a slave, buffeted by the fisticuffs of low ruffians, into Quṭbu'l-mulk's presence, where he was made to stand with folded hands. While this disgraceful parade was going on, Nawáb Murṭazá Khán, who was one of the Saiyad's companions, placed his hand on the emperor's

neck and snatched from it a ruby button of immense value, which was on his coat collar. The emperor's daughter, a child of twelve years, saw this, and, clinging to the emperor, began to cry, but they drove her off with blows of their fists. This is the child who was afterwards married to Muhammad Sháh and became known as Malka Zamáni. She lived to a great age. She was still alive when Ghulám Qádir Ruhela, son of Zábíta Khán, blinded Sháh 'Álam's eyes, and died in the same year. This Murṭazá Khán was banished from Sháhjahánábád at Malka Zamáni's instigation, when Muhammad Sháh came to the throne. He came to Lucknow, and settled there under the protection of Nawáb Burhánu'l-mulk. Murṭazá Khán and Muríd Khán were on account of their great intimacy reputed to be brothers.

In short, when the Saiyads had freed themselves from all danger of the emperor's hatred, they set no limits to their rancour. Alas! when the antidote becomes itself a poison! Fie upon unfriendly and shameless fortune! She neither sides heartily with her favorites nor spares either friend or foe. At first she helps a man, but at last overthrows him, and turns her back on him on whom she formerly smiled. This magic world, with its succession of changing scenes, is a harvest-floor of lightning flashes, nay, a cotton-field sprinkled with fire sparks.

Quṭbu'l-mulk, who had for seven years, owing to the emperor Farrukhsiyar's persecutions, been unable to close his eyes peacefully on his bed, first seared the emperor's eyeballs with a heated needle, and then imprisoned him, imposing various rigorous restraints. On the same day,

at noon, the 10th Rabí'u'ssání, 1131 A.H. [1719 A.D.], to keep up the line of succession, they seated on the throne Raff'u'ddaraját, son of Raff'u'shshán, son of Bahádur Sháh, son of the Emperor 'Alamgír. This prince had for many years been suffering with a wasting fever, and was at his last breath; thus they restored public tranquillity, and the excitement, which had arisen on the massacre of the Dakhini troops, and had for some hours created universal alarm, was allayed.

They say that after a few days Raff'u'ddaraját sent a eunuch to inquire how Farrukhsiyar was, and, when that victim of many cruelties received the new emperor's message, he uttered a prayer for his safety and repeated this verse, and urged the eunuch not to forget to repeat it to His Majesty—

Be not deluded, nightingale,
To trust the gardener's snare:
Time was that I a nest had built
Within that garden fair.

The cruelties which the ex-emperor endured during his imprisonment in that place of torment are beyond the power of pen to paint :—

Morning and night his scanty prison fare
Grew bitter with his tears' remorseful store:
No fire to cheer his dungeon cold was there,
And water seemed to him to teem with gore:
For he, time was, to fence his throne from care,
Had bid that princes' eyes should see no more.
Who drew through princes' eyes the needle baneful
Felt in his own at last requital painful.

One writer tells us that he had heard from some of Qutbu'lmuik's brothers and nephews, who were employed to guard Farrukhsiyar during his imprisonment, that

they were at last unable to bear the sight of the cruelties which were inflicted daily with ever-fresh refinements upon the fallen emperor: and whose eye, said they, could endure such inhumanity, and whose heart could brook to hear of such transcendent brutality? Take one illustration. Often he was kept for four or five days without water for ablution.* He spent day and night in reciting the word of God, which he knew by heart, and had no other occupation. In this plight he constantly appealed to these guards that, as he was engaged in reciting the holy Qurán, though they would not give him water to drink, they might be merciful enough to give him water to purify his body from filth. But they turned a deaf ear to him, and no one answered him. In such a condition he continued for three months and some days until the all-powerful Saiyads, at the instigation some nobles, especially Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádúr, tortured their helpless captive to death. The release of the prisoner by death was indeed to him a grant of new life. Strange to say, he had in the early days of his reign killed many nobles, Nusrat Jang Zu'lfaqár Khán Bahádúr, for instance, and Sa'dullah Khán, son of 'Ináyatullah Khán Kashmíri, who had been deputy wazír to Kháqán Mu'azzam Bahádúr Sháh, and chamberlain to Sul-tán Jahándár Sháh Ma'izzu'ddin; and besides these two nobles, others, such as Saiyad Qásim Shahna of Dehli, Hidáyátkesh, and Sháh Qudratu'llah Madáru'lmuhámm to 'Azímu'shshán, at the order of Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán Khán Khánán Yár Khán, by strangling them with a leather noose; and it was by the same fatal instrument that he met his fate.

* The details are too forbidding for translation.

Within a very few days of the murder of Farrukhsiyar, the Emperor Raff'u'ddaraját, son of Raff'u'shshán, son of Bahádur Sháh, son of the Emperor 'Álamgír, after a reign of three months and seven days, went with the disease to which he had been long subject to God's hospital in the other world. According to his last wishes, they set up in his stead his elder brother, Sultán Raff'u'ddaulah.

She knows not yet, but if she knew,
 How soon the spring is fled,
 The rose would not so anxious be
 To bloom with petals red.

But, a week before the death of Raff'u'ddaraját, trustworthy messengers brought the Saiyads intelligence that Sultán Nekosiyar, son of Sultán Muhammad Akbar, son of the Emperor 'Álamgír, had revolted at the fort of Akbarábád.

The following is a history of Nekosiyar. When Sultán Muhammad Akbar revolted against his father, the Emperor 'Álamgír, set himself up on an unstable throne, and commenced war, but was deserted by good fortune and driven to flight, all the members of his household, including his sons, were captured by 'Álamgír. Sultán Nekosiyar was then not more than a year old. 'Álamgír imprisoned him with his nurse in the fort of Akbarábád, and he had never seen the face of man until he now revolted. He had been brought up among women. But suddenly Mitra Sen, the captain of the Baksar infantry, who were employed to garrison the fort, hearing that he had been dismissed, and that the pay of the troops, which had not reached them from the days of Farrukhsiyar, was to be withheld, lost his head, dragged Sultán

Nekosiyar from the seraglio with force and clamour, and set him upon the throne, and placed Safi Khán, the commander of the fort, in confinement, because he declined to join his emperor.

When Amíru'lumara Husen 'Ali Khán heard this alarming report, he roused himself and determined to chastise the rebels. He had scarcely pitched his tents outside Sháhjahánábád when he heard of the death of Sultán Rafí'u'ddaraját and the accession of Sultán Rafí'u'ddaulah, who assumed the title of Sháhjahán the Second. This led to a halt of a few days on Amíru'lumara's part outside the city, after which he hastened his march to Akbarábád. After two months' fighting, the blustering coward, Mitra Sen, grew afraid of the results of his action, and agreed to treat. He surrendered the fort and the prince to the Saiyads.

'Twas phantom wine he drained from phantom bowl,
Muslim or Hindú, here who staked his soul.

After the capture of the fort, news of revolts and rebellions of provincial governors began to pour in from all sides. Saiyad Tahawwar 'Ali Khán, Amíru'lumara's private pay-master, had been sent some months before with 12,000 veteran horse, the most reliable portion of the Saiyads' troops, with four rájas, each of whom was a prominent leader of a Rájput clan, to chastise some refractory chiefs of Rájputána, and was quartered there. He had accomplished all that was required of him here, and was contemplating his return to headquarters, when suddenly he was led by secret instructions and private orders to march to Málwah. When news of this move reached the astute and foreseeing Nizámu'lmu'k, son of Gháziu'ddin Khán Fíroz Jang Bukháráí, he resolved, as

he could perfectly discern the real intention of this bold move, to anticipate the future and act for himself.

The following is a history of Nizámu'lmulk. After the imprisonment of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, he had been appointed at the order of the Saiyads to the governorship of Málwah, and had taken leave of the emperor and set out for his destination. At the time of Nekosiyar's revolt and the fighting at the fort of Akbarábád, certain occurrences created a discordant feeling between him and the Saiyads, but nothing happened to cause either of them to openly show his distrust of the other. When he came to know of Saiyad Diláwar 'Ali Khán Paymaster's arrival in his neighbourhood with the four powerful rájas and 20,000 horse, he raised a loud rumour of his intention to march into Hindústán, marched two stages towards Agra, and then striking suddenly out to the left, marched post-haste to the Dakhin. He crossed the Narbada, and carrying all before him at one bold sweep with a victorious shout, reduced to his sway all the provinces from the lofty stronghold of Asírghar, the most famous fort of Khándesh, to the capital Burhánpur. The officials, who were creatures of the Saiyads, finding themselves unable to fly to them or to resist the invader, had no help for it but to save their lives in this unforeseen emergency by submission.

As soon as the news of the defection of the victorious Nizámu'lmulk reached the Saiyads, they sent a letter post-haste to Saiyad Diláwar 'Ali Khán, their paymaster, upbraiding him with timidity, want of courage and dash, and they urged him strongly to capture and kill

Nizámu'lmuik. It is certain that that prudent officer, Nizámu'lmuik, had no intention of fighting and raising a civil war until Saiyad Diláwar Kẖán, fired by the perusal of this letter, sent him a letter to the following effect: "How long will you, for the sake of preserving a transitory life, continue to fly? To traverse hill and desert in this way is unbecoming a man, and is a shame and disgrace. It is better to grasp the unfailing cable of trust in God and surrender yourself to me and go with me to the emperor, when great efforts will be made to induce His Majesty to pardon you. Besides this, you may assure yourself that, though you should hide yourself like a billow in the ocean, I shall follow you with 20,000 veteran horse like the storm-wind of the raging tempest. If like the stag you fly o'er desert and mountain, your pursuers will hunt you like a tiger, who has but whetted his appetite by tasting the blood of his victim." They say that Nizámu'lmuik dropped a tear when he read this letter, but, taking two thousand veteran cavalry and four thousand recruits, whom he had then with him, turned to fight and suddenly fell upon the unready Diláwar 'Ali Kẖán, and favoured him with an engagement. Diláwar 'Ali Kẖán, seeing the clouds of dust raised by the approaching enemy, comprehending the situation, without waiting to call out his troops or to send them forward, mounted an elephant and advanced to the fight. As the phoenix of good fortune had deserted the Saiyads' nest and the owl of destruction had taken her place, Diláwar 'Ali Kẖán was killed by a gunshot after a trifling skirmish and brief engagement, and the rajas who had been sent with him shared his fate. It is certain that but a very few of his soldiers rode back from that fatal field, and all the rest of both

Diláwar Khán's and the rája's men fled bareheaded and barefooted, leaving their horses and equipments to be plundered: while Nizámu'lmulk, having won a victory beyond all expectation, marched towards the Súbah of Barár.

Saiyad 'Álim 'Ali Khán, son of the brother of Qutb-
 u'lmulk and Amíru'tumara, Saiyad
 Saiyad 'Álim 'Ali Khán attacks Nizámu'l- Husen 'Ali Khán Bahádur, who was
 mulk and is killed. then only about fifteen or seventeen

years old, and was governor of all the Dakhin provinces, hearing of the death of their paymaster and the destruction of his army, roused himself and made great exertions to raise an army. In a short time he put together nearly 50,000 horse and hastened to take the field. Qutbu'lmulk, recognizing the finger of God, began to wish for peace, and sent a message to his nephew telling him that he was still too young for such dangerous undertakings, and recommending him to return with all his treasure and family to Hindústán, where he could raise his standard with the aid of his aged and experienced uncles, and saying that, if this did not please him, he should return to the capital, Aurangábád, and there wait for the arrival of his uncles from Hindústán, when he could join them while they advanced. He gave the youth his choice of these two courses, but added that, if he did not approve of either of them, and would persist in seeking an engagement, he feared some disaster would overtake him, and this would bring great shame upon his uncle. But 'Álim 'Ali Khán paid no attention to his aged uncle's advice. He was puffed up by the pride of youth, and prepared to fight.

Haste not, raw youth, old age to cavil with:

'Tis old planes hide a fire within their pith.

When he approached Nizámu'lmulk, the latter delayed the engagement, and spent two months and some days in subterfuge. When the rainy season had passed over and the sky was cleared, he took the field and gained by the favour of God this battle, precisely as he had won that with the paymaster. 'Álim 'Ali Khán died in battle, fighting as became a brave man.

They say that at first Nizámu'lmulk wrote letters of entreaty to Saiyad 'Álim 'Ali Khán, saying : " Son of " a noble Saiyad, refrain from persecuting and destroy- " ing this old man, who has no means of resistance, " and permit him to dwell in safety. For God's sake " have mercy upon his helpless condition." And he continued retreating eight or ten miles daily, while the young Saiyad continued to pursue him, proudly relying on his numbers. As Nizámu'lmulk was intimately acquainted with every detail of the heights and hollows, mountains and deserts of the Dakhin, he approached a place where there was a deep swamp, the surface of which seemed to be dry ground, in front of his army, and beyond it a small hill. He then suddenly left that swamp in front, sent round his treasure and family to the hill and, placing some batteries on the high ground above the swamp, posted himself there. 'Álim 'Ali Khán, fancying he had caught the flying deer in a net, impetuously charged with two thousand cavalry with drawn swords. There was water under the surface and he did not know it. Horses and riders sank up to their backs and necks, and many of them were drowned. The Saiyad's charger was a thoroughbred of great price, and by dint of spirit and power, falling and rising, eventually brought his rider safe to the end of the marsh. The moment that the noble youth emerged he was shot by

a musket ball from Nizámu'lmulk's infantry, and he fell from the saddle to the ground. Nawáb Nizámu'lmulk rushed forward, lifted him, carried him into his tent, wept over him, laid his head in his lap, and said : " My noble boy, I am not to blame : though I tried to avoid " you, you would not let me alone." The Saiyad looked up to heaven and expired.

When the news of this disaster reached them, Amíru'lumara's relatives and wives, who were at Aurangábád, placed themselves in communication with the commandant of the fort of Daulatábád, who was of the family of the Bukhára Saiyads, and all of them, even women and children, took refuge in the fort and thus saved themselves from the danger of the attacks of the Mughal army.

When this startling news spread, Amíru'lumara, who who had been deeply moved with regret at the death of his paymaster, was engaged in suppressing the new revolt made by Nekosiyar, and he had already determined to return to the Dakhin as soon as he had completed that task and there avenge himself on the rebel Nizám. The sudden announcement of his nephew's disaster kindled his fury, and he resolved to hasten to the Dakhin. After a few days' consultation, it was agreed upon that Amíru'lumara should march to the Dakhin with the Emperor Muhammad Sháh and all the influential nobles, and that Qutbu'lmulk, with some nobles of less degree, who were unequal to such a long journey and were unable to fight, should proceed from Akbarábád to Sháhjahánábád and administer the empire.

It so happened that, when the fort of Akbarábád was captured and prince Nekosiyar made prisoner, the Emperor Rafi'u'ddaulah,

Accession of Muhammad Sháh.

son of Prince Rāfi'ū'shshān, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother, Rāfi'ū'ddarajāt, and had been for a long time afflicted with consumption, died at Karāoli on the 5th Zīqā'd, after a reign of three months and some days. Thereupon Quṭbu'lmuḥ and Amīru'lumara despatched one of their brothers to Shāh-jahānābād Delhi to bring Prince Ibrāhīm, son of Rāfi'ū'shshān, who was older than Rāfi'ū'ddaulah and Rāfi'ū'ddarajāt. It accidentally happened that Saiyad Khān Jahān, the maternal uncle of Quṭbu'lmuḥ and Amīru'lumara, who was on duty at the fort on guard over the princes, hesitated to send Prince Ibrāhīm because he was ill-tempered and jealous : and in his stead he sent Prince Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, son of the Emperor Shāh 'Alim Bahādur Shāh. When the Prince Roshan Akhtar arrived from Delhi at Akbarābād, the Saiyads had no help for it but to fall in with the choice made by their uncle, Saiyad Khān Jahān, and so they placed him on the throne with the title of Muhammad Shāh on the 11th Zīqā'd, 1131 A. H. [1719 A. D.]. On the 12th Zīqā'd, it was arranged that Amīru'lumara should march to the Dakhin with the emperor and Muhammad Amīn Khān, who was Nizāmu'lmuḥ's uncle, and other nobles.

They say that, after the murder of Farrukhsiyar and the elevation of the three next princes who succeeded him, Quṭbu'lmuḥ, Amīru'lumara, and their eldest maternal uncle were sitting alone together one night, when Quṭbu'lmuḥ in his arrogance made this remark : " In these days, uncle, by the grace of God, " any one on whom I place my shoe becomes emperor." The old man remained silent. The two brothers asked

Fall of the two Saiyads: murder of Amīru'lumara: imprisonment of Quṭbu'lmuḥ.

him in great surprise: "Why do not you say: "Right you are?" The wise, experienced, foreseeing, and Godfearing old man replied: "Just now my five senses have left me, and I am overwhelmed by intense fear. Alas! Your power and glory have to-day departed. The reason is that there is no dignity in this unstable world which surpasses that of an emperor, and you have exceeded it by many degrees, and your tone shows that you think yourselves God, but God tolerates no rival. Your boat is filling and it won't be long till it sinks in the water." The old man uttered these few words with such force that they took effect on the two brothers. They left silent and perplexed.

Another story is this. The day before they left for the Dakhin, Amíru'lumara went to the venerated tomb of Sháh Salím Chishtí, to recite the Fátíha, present offerings, and ask a blessing. He was accompanied by ten or a score chiefs and a crowd of followers. The moment that he entered the courtyard of the mausoleum, his sword, which he held, suddenly dropped from his hand and, falling on the stone of pavement of the court, snapped in two at the middle. He was disconcerted by this evil omen, but had sufficient self-command to conceal it from the party around him.

A third story they tell is this. When the two brothers were parting, they embraced each other, and clung together with all their might. Each pressed the other lovingly to his heart, and cried loudly, shedding tears of regret. They then mounted their horses and one rode west and the other south. Involuntarily from the lips of all, old and young, high and low, of both their

retinues, came the words: 'Jug* phútá: nard mání ga,í.' This is a Hindí idiom used by people when playing chaunsar. What they meant was that, inasmuch as the two brothers had separated, the game was over and they had lost. After four days the exclamation was verified.

In short, the two brothers separated and set out on their respective journeys. Amíru'lumara made four marches uneventfully. Muhammad Amín Khán and Khwája 'Azím Khán Daurán Khán and other nobles of the court of more or less influence were secretly, as a rule, dissatisfied with the ascendancy of the Saiyads. The emperor and his mother were compelled to accept that ascendancy lest the emperor should meet with the fate of Farrukhsiyar, if he did not submit to their leading and wishes: but Muhammad Amín Khán was the ringleader in the plot which followed. One day he found an opportunity and gathered together in his tent several stalwart and trusted Mughals, and said to them: "I am going to kill Husen 'Ali to-morrow. Is there anyone among you bold enough to despatch him?" One of them rose up and said: "I'll do it." "What weapon will you use?" he asked. "A bullet," was the reply. "You may sit down," said Muhammad Amín Khán. Another started up. "What will you use?" "An arrow," said the Mughal. He too was told to sit down. In the same way two or three others volunteered, one naming a spear, another a sabre, and another a sword; but none of these men was to his mind. Mír Haidar of Káshghar,

* *Jug* is the combination of two pieces at chaunsar when they come together on one square. *Jug tútá* or *jug phútá* is the breaking up of this combination. *Nard máná* is to take a piece: *nard mání ga,í*, the piece has been lost. The whole exclamation may be translated: "The pieces are separated and the game is over."

who was a cross between a Saiyad and a Mughal, a man of his word, spirited and daring, the one of all Muhammad Amín's associates who was to be relied upon for an occasion like this, rose and said: "Long may you live, illustrious Nawáb, I will kill him?" The same question was put: "with what?" "A dagger," said he. "Right," said the Nawáb, "you shall kill him." They say that Mír Haidar went on to say: "To undertake a job like this is to take one's life in his hand. 'Tis certain your servant will keep Amíru'lumara company. "But it will be all he wants, if you will kindly give a lákh of rupees as a provision for his little children." Muhammad Amín Khán that very day secretly sent 50,000 rupees to the man's house and promised to pay the rest.

Sa'adat Khán Nishápurí, one of the protégés of the Saiyads, who had through their influence been appointed chief magistrate of Hindon and Bíána, having by his good address, natural sagacity, and the help of coming fortune, when he saw the arrogance of the Saiyads and feared its fatal issue, made up to Muhammad Amín Khán and the emperor's private servants, used to gain admission to meetings like this. They thought his presence no harm. He was not worth notice.

The practice was for the nobles to remain standing outside when the emperor's conveyance entered the gulálbár or enclosure of the emperor's tents, while Amíru'lumara's palankeen was carried behind the imperial elephant up to the La'l Darwáza, or Red Door, where he bowed to the emperor and then left. The other nobles used then to accompany Amíru'lumara to his tent, after

which they returned to their own tents. After their fifth march, on Tuesday, the 6th Zihijh, 1132 A.H [1720 A.D.], when the emperor came in from his last halting-place and entered his tent, Muhammad Amín Khán obtained permission to retire on pretence of a pain in his stomach, and went to Haidar Quli Khán Shírázi's office-tent. This officer had been a few days before raised to the rank of an artillery commander on the imperial staff, and although he was one of those who owed their rise to the Saiyads, he was on this day in league with Muhammad Amín Khán. After a while, when the emperor hurried into his harem, Amíru'lumara entered his palankeen and as usual went toward his own tents. When he got as far as opposite Haidar Quli Khán's office-tent, which was pitched inside the imperial enclosure near the emperor's tent (for it was the rule for a park of artillery to be stationed there), he sent a servant to inquire for Muhammad Amín Khán. At this juncture Mír Haidar Káshghari, who was a descendant of the family of a prime minister of his native country, came up with some others like him, holding a paper in his hand and asking for redress: and he used abusive language regarding Muhammad Amín Khán. He continued to repeat expressions which were improper to use of that high official. Amíru'lumara heard this unbecoming and indecent language, and forbade it. He was about to take the paper from the hand of the powerful Káshghari and read it, when his private servant came up to him on the other side offering him his huqqa to smoke. The moment that Amíru'lumara turned from the side where Mír Haidar was, and his attention was diverted by laying his hand on the mouth-piece of the huqqa, Mír Haidar embraced the chance and plunged the dagger into his side. He dealt

the blow so rapidly and effectively that not one attendant who was near knew what was going on, and the dagger penetrated heart, liver and bowels. This event happened on the 6th Zihijh at Gháte Karaiya. We further know from reliable sources that, the moment the dagger entered Amíru'lumara's body, he kicked Mír Haidar on the breast, and uttered these his last words: "You wretch, it is false dice you have thrown on the board, and caused consternation to every one all round." When Mír Haidar saw that he had killed his victim, he seized Amíru'lumara by the feet and dragged him from his palankeen to the ground, and placing his foot on his chest proceeded to cut off his head. Before he could complete this operation, Saiyad Núrullah, son of Saiyad Salámullah, better known as Nawáb Auliya, and of Amíru'lumara's father's sister, a boy only fifteen years old, came up behind him and struck him on the head with a sword, felling him lifeless to the ground. One of Mír Haidar's companions then, with the same alacrity and despatch, dealt Saiyad Núrullah a sword cut on the head, killing him before he had reaped the fruits of his bravery.

Cleansed are the brave by gleam of glaive

A hero's death who meet :

With spotless brow they pass to bow

And kiss that golden street.

Of the other side not one perished save Mír Haidar. Strange indeed it is that a noble like Amíru'lumara Saiyad Husen 'Ali Khán, a hero born under a lucky star, whose pomp was imperial in its lustre, and who maintained fifty thousand horse from his private purse to do his bidding, bit the dust in death and not one drew from his scabbard a sword to avenge his fall.

Though I the ends to serve of friends
My long long life had spent,
No mate would dare this journey share
On which my steps are bent.

They say that Saiyad Ghairat Khán, Amíru'lumara's sister's son, who had only reached manhood, came in from the march and ordered his servants to bring breakfast. He had hardly raised the first morsel to his mouth, when, hearing of the murder, he rushed out in his excitement to fight, and mounted an elephant without waiting to wash his hands. No one had had the spirit to die for Amíru'lumara, and now Saiyad Ghairat Khán, though he well deserved the name he bore, failed to elicit support. He turned out with ten or twelve mounted soldiers from his tents. In the meantime the emperor's servants were busy. The moment Amíru'lumara had been despatched, Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádur, and his eldest son Qamru'ddín Khán, who afterwards succeeded his father as imperial wazír, Haidar Quli Khán, artillery commandant, and Sa'adat Khán Nishá-puri, who had not yet been ennobled, came together and called on the emperor to come out of the imperial tent; but, notwithstanding their urgency, his mother refused to permit her son to go out, and firmly resisted all entreaties. At last Sa'adat Khán took Amíru'lumara's head in his hand and entered the tent with some Túrání Mughals. He dragged the emperor from his mother's arms and brought him out. Meanwhile some of the Saiyad's servants had cut the imperial tent and entered with the intention of murdering the emperor. When they reached the spot, they found themselves foiled and returned as they had entered. Some say that a sweeper named Singhária, one of the Saiyad's servants, who was

a very powerful man, seized the emperor in his arms, and was about to kill him, but Sa'adat Khán, who was still more powerful, dragged the emperor from the scoundrel's hands, placed him in a covered howdah on an elephant, and cut down the would-be murderer with his sword.

Muhammed Amín Khán seated himself beside the emperor and turned to oppose Ghairat Khán. At first Ghairat Khán had been so far successful that he had uprooted several of the imperial tents, and he now resolved to make a dash for the emperor's elephant, but a Habshí named Bashír, one of Haidar Quli Khán's slaves, shot him dead. His death was followed by an order from the emperor to his indigent camp-followers permitting them to plunder Amíru'lumara's tents and those of his retinue with all their property and treasure. In one short hour all the wealth, elephants, horses, and treasure, which had been accumulated under several successive emperors, were so completely scattered by plunderers that soon not a trace was left to show where the Saiyad's tents had been pitched. Marvellous was the change which ensued. Many a one who had come in from the last march penniless, found himself after Amíru'lumara's murder master of a fortune. Many a beggar that had been hanging about the camp, secured as many as two or three thousand gold muhars, and every poverty-stricken dependent on the imperial bounty became a man of substance, especially the Túrání Mughals, for whom money and precious stones ceased to have any longer any charm.

A thousand fortunes I, contented with a crust,
See in a fortnight crumble to the dust.

When the alarming news reached Qutbu'lmuik, who had advanced four marches on his journey, he sent and

summoned from his tent Saiyad San'atullah, better known as Shekhá, an influential resident of Lucknow, who was his confidential friend; put his handkerchief to his face and began to wipe away the tears of regret which were flowing down his cheeks, and asked him: "Have you heard the news? They have murdered my brother Husen 'Ali in the emperor's camp." He wanted at once to turn and march by forced marches upon the imperial camp and avenge his brother's death. Had he done this, he would have done well, for the emperor's army had not yet recovered itself and, demoralised by dread of Qutbu'lmulk's return, were marching as slowly as possible towards Hindústán at the rate of only some two to four miles a day, but "the doctor loses his head when death knocks at the door." Some of Qutbu'lmulk's friends insisted that his object should be to reach Sháhjahánábád, and dissuaded him from taking the move which he proposed and which was the proper one to take. That very night, therefore, Qutbu'lmulk sent a letter to his younger brother, Saiyad Najmu'ddín 'Ali Khán, Názim of Sháhjahánábád, begging him not to wait for his arrival, but at once to place Sultán Ibráhím, son of Raff'u'sh-shán, on the throne and to collect arms and ammunition. On receiving his brother's letter, Saiyad Najmu'ddín 'Ali Khán at once drew Sultán Ibráhím from his place of incarceration, set him on a borrowed throne, and hastened to comply with the other orders. When Qutbu'lmulk arrived at Sháhjahánábád Delhi, he gave himself no rest, but after a halt of only three days' duration, he hurried to draw his sword upon his foes, and pitched his camp outside the city. It is remarkable that within the space of one week he was able to recruit nearly 120,000 horse.

On the other side, Muhammad Amín Khán advanced with the emperor and the other nobles by slow marches and reached Shergarh, where they encamped. Hakím 'Abdullah Khán, my grandfather, who was with Shekhá of Lucknow, Qutbu'lmuik's friend, lived to be 104 years old. In my boyhood I saw him and he told me that, although Qutbu'lmuik was marching with 200,000 cavalry, an intelligencer thought it necessary to warn him that the road was dangerous. The danger alluded to referred to Churáman Ját, who was lying with 100,000 men across his path. They had advanced only a few paces when a Mughal horseman came up, levelled his carbine and fired deliberately at Qutbu'lmuik. The ball passed through the covering of the howdah. Qutbu'lmuik escaped. His followers gathered round the Mughal, arrested him and brought him to Qutbu'lmuik, who asked him who he was, what was his name, and how he had come? He answered: "May I die for you! Muhammad Amín Khán has appointed ten strong Mughals to take your life. I am one of them." Qutbu'lmuik forgave him and told them not to harm him, but they cut the Mughal to pieces.

On Thursday, the 12th Muharram, 1134 A. H. [1721 A. D.], the two armies met near Shergarh, and an engagement commenced, which continued all that day and the ensuing night. Qutbu'lmuik dug entrenchments and raised a high battery and mounted a big cannon which worked freely and incessantly. The emperor's gunners, who were commanded by Haidar Quli Khán, used their utmost efforts, serving cannons and swivel guns and firing shells. The battle raged indecisively all Thursday from sunrise and all night to sunrise on Friday. Day and night the cavalry

Battle of Shergarh.

of both parties remained in saddle, and the atmosphere was clouded with cannon smoke. Five hundred cavalry under Khán Daurán Khán charged the battery, cut down the gunners, and turned the guns upon the enemy. In the evening Quṭbu'lmuḳ's new levies gave way before the attack of the imperial army and fled. At sunrise Saiyad Quṭbu'lmuḳ found himself alone in the field deserted by his followers. At last he was compelled to advance his own elephant. When the day was no longer to be decided by bullets and arrows, but the fight became hand to hand with sword and sabre, he leaped from his elephant to the ground. Owing to the coat of mail and weapons which he was wearing, there was some delay in his rising to his feet. In the meantime the emperor's soldiers, who had surrounded his elephant, seized him before he could rise or move his hands, and brought him before the emperor with loud shouts of congratulation and victory.

The emperor handed Quṭbu'lmuḳ over to a guard for custody and fixed a pension of Quṭbu'lmuḳ's death, five hundred rupees a month for his maintenance. He lived for four years in captivity. He was a Sunnī. He fixed five thousand rupees for charitable distribution annually at the Fātiḥa of the Eleventh, instituted by Ḡhaṣu'sṣaqalain Sheḵḥ Muḥaiy,u'ddīn 'Abdul Qádir of Jílān. When the day came round he used to send word to some one of the imperial nobles that this was the day of that festival, and that noble, considering this an opportunity for good works, used at once to send the money required by the Saiyad for distribution. He died after the completion of four years from the date of his captivity.

At the advice of Muhammad Amín Khán, Samsámu'd-
 daulah and others, the Emperor, Muhammad Sháh con-
 tinued his march northward and entered the capital,
 Sháhjahánábád Delhi. He died after a reign of thirty-
 two years. During this long period he undertook two
 expeditions; one in 1151 A. H. [1738 A. D.], in the
 month of Zíqa'd, to Karnál, to meet Nádir Sháh, and
 the other, at the instigation of the Nawáb Wazír Qamr-
 u'ddín Khán, to Bangarh, to expel 'Ali Muhammad Khán
 Ruhelá: with the exception of these two occasions he
 passed his long reign in pleasure. He died on Thursday,
 the 23rd Rabí'u'ssání, twenty-six days more than thirty-
 one years after his accession. Eleven days later, Sunday,
 the 3rd Jamádi,ulawwal, they seated Ahmad Sháh on
 the throne, and on the 10th Sha'bán, 1167 A. H. [1754
 A. D.], they blinded him and made 'Azízu'ddín 'Álamgír
 Sání, son of Ma'izzu'ddin Jahándáf Sháh, emperor. In
 the fifth year of Ahmad Sháh's reign, on the 27th
 Shawwál, 1165 A. H. [1752 A. D.], Nawáb Safdar Jang
 killed Nawáb Jáwed Khán.

APPENDIX.

MR Muhammad Amín Músawi, who received the title of Burhānu'lmuġk, was one of the most noble Saiyads of Nishāpur, and was a well-known and famous man in his native country. He came to Hindústān in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, passed some time in straitened circumstances, but gradually rose to prosperity in the reign of Muhammad Farruġhsiyar. After the murder of the latter emperor and the development of some plots and intrigues which are foreign to this narrative, and need not be mentioned here, and the accession of Muhammad Shāh (long may he reign), the assassination of Husen 'Ali Khān, Amīru'lumara, and the overthrow of 'Abdullah, Quṭbu'lmuġk, these two brothers who had murdered the preceding emperor, and caused all the quarrels and bloodshed of that period, and the ruin of two other dangerous persons had been effected by the instrumentality and contrivance of Burhānu'lmuġk, further promotion followed and he was raised to the rank of a Haft-Hazāri and was appointed Sūbahdār of Akbarābād. He was subsequently further honoured with the governorship of Awadh and Lucknow. He was so vigorous in dealing with the refractory characters of those parts that he became a terror to the people. In fact, he punished all the rebels in Hindústān and made them obedient to his will. Most governors, rājas, and large landholders used to send him presents.

I was honoured with his friendship after he came to Hindústān. My house happened to be quite close to his residence and we formed a familiar friendship. Whenever he happened to come to Shāhjahanābād, we saw a great deal of one another night and day. He was considerate and kind to every one, but was so very much so to me that I cannot describe it. He was very sensitive and quick-tempered, and did not get on with emperors and nobles: he preferred the society of the humble recluse, and spent most of his time within the limits of his sūbah. When, however, enemies like the Marhatta plunderers became bold and placed the emperor

and nobles in difficulties, they were glad to see him and sought protection by his sword. He was in bravery a grandson worthy of his grandfather. He was unsurpassed in courtesy, honour, courag  , and fidelity. His very enemies who sought his ruin felt a sympathy for him in his troubles. He grudged not life or property, so much so that he has often been known to show genuine sympathy for and assist the surviving relations of an enemy. There was not a particle of malice in his nature. He lent a ready ear to the pleas of criminals. About two hundred thousand sons and daughters and wives of Hind   k  firs were raised by the might of his sword to enjoy the blessings of Isl  m, and a like number of unbelievers were slaughtered by his victorious soldiers. His prestige was so great with high and low that, if he advanced with a thousand horse to chastise fifty thousand, he won without a blow: the enemy could not stand before him. If a sorrow-stricken soul came into his presence, his sorrow at once gave place to joy. He was so cheerful and pleasant, so free and easy, that even at sixty years of age, when his beard had become quite grey, there was not a wrinkle on his forehead. His soldiers and equipments and his appointments were unlimited.

When the King of Ir  n resolved on the conquest of Hind  st  n and had entered K  bul, the emperor summoned Burh  nu'lmu  k from his s  bah, but afterwards ordered him to remain at his post. In this he was influenced by the advice of Sams  mu'ddaulah Kh  n Daur  n, who was then Am  ru'lumara and a bitter enemy of Burh  nu'lmu  k's. He feared that the latter might join the King of Ir  n and cause complications. At last, when there was no help for it and the enemy was close at hand, the emperor sent for him a second time, and at the same time advanced to L  haur and encamped in the plains of Karn  l, which are four marches from Sh  hjah  n  b  d. Burh  nu'lmu  k hurried up by forced marches and joined him with troops exhausted by this expeditious march. He arrived at the emperor's side at midnight on Tuesday, the 14th of Z  qa'd, 1151 A.H. [1739 A.D.], and encamped close to the emperor's camp. He waited on the emperor in the morning. He was still in the imperial presence when scouts came in announcing that Qazilb  sh sepoys had advanced close up to his camp and had

captured and carried off some men. As he was naturally impulsive, he at once lifted the sword which he had laid before the emperor, and went out to fight. Although the emperor and nobles entreated him to pause, he merely replied: "Whether I go or not, in either case we are done for. Things are now beyond remedy. It is your procrastination that has brought matters to this pass, and if you persist in it, the end will be that you will lose Hindústán without a battle. It is my turn to die to-day. To-morrow do what you like!" He uttered these words as he left the emperor's camp and rode away to the fight. About three months before he had sustained a hurt in his foot which had resulted in a fissure.* Hence he had to be carried about in a chair by four men. In this way he had gone to see the emperor.

I might here give an account of the invasion of Hindústán by the Sháh of Irán, and its cause, but it is foreign to the scope of my book, and so I only briefly refer to it. What I do write, I write truthfully, whether it please people or not.

Burhānu'l-mulk mounted an elephant and rode out with four or five hundred cavalry to engage the Qazilbáshes. He sent messengers to his camp and called out his men. The latter had come up from Awadh to Karnál, which is ordinarily a two months' march, by double marches. Hindústáni troops are accustomed to forced marching, and, further, they think more of their horses than their own lives. The reason is that, in truth, it is their horses that are entertained in service, and if a horse dies, or becomes lame or disabled, the owner of the horse loses his employment. Most men in India live by service, and even in the matter of military service they are, in fact, nothing more than daily labourers. Personal independence is not common. Besides this, the natives of Hindústán are very easy-going and wanting in stamina. Hence these troops had come up from Awadh to Karnál like a long line of caravans, and there was not a stage on which some had not lagged behind. Between Sháhjahánábád and Karnál alone half had dropped out on various pretences, while the other half kept coming up slowly from previous halting-places. Those who arrived

with Burhānu'l-mulk were in an indescribable condition, and had arrived, too, about midnight, tired and exhausted. They were also ignorant of the contiguity of the Qazilbāshes. Each had lain down to rest in some corner of the camp. The buglers signalled a call to arms and announced that the nawāb had taken the field. Not one of them would believe it, as they knew the nawāb had gone to wait on the emperor, and when he left there was not a notion of fighting. The call was given two or three times but the sleepers did not hear, and those who were awake in different corners feigned not to hear. The buglers then lay down and joined them, reckoning the opportunity for even a brief sleep a gain. Still, some 4,000 cavalry and a few short of 1,000 infantry joined the nawāb. The latter came to his camp and discovered the state of things. He set his camp in order and posted some small guns which he had brought with him round it.

The advanced skirmishers of the Qazilbāshes, who were scattered round the place, now began to show themselves. The nawāb was a brave man accustomed to open fighting and knew nothing of the tricks of war. The Qazilbāshes were practised in and experienced in ruses, and they drew him out into the open field by a retreating fight, until they brought him out two miles from his camp. The inexperienced Indian troops fancied, in fact believed, that the enemy were unable to withstand them and were therefore retreating. Messengers kept coming back to the camp announcing the victory of the nawāb and the flight of his opponents, but the nawāb knew perfectly well that these Qazilbāshes were only an advanced section of the Persian army; that the main force was behind them. He therefore sent asking the emperor for assistance, and urged the emperor and nobles to come out and join in the engagement. The emperor kept sending Burhānu'l-mulk's messengers with confidential agents to his ministers, telling them how the battle was progressing; how assistance was asked for; and the pain Burhānu'l-mulk was enduring in the field. He ordered his officers to turn out, and even offered to take the field in person if they thought it advisable, but the chief officers on whom he depended were three: Nizāmu'l-mulk Āsaf Jāh, who was procurator-general and commander-in-chief; Khān Daurān Samsamuddaulah, who

was Amíru'lumara, paymaster-general, and minister of state; Qamru'ddin Khán Bahádur 'Itimádu'ddaulah, who was grand wazír and second paymaster. The last named had 30,000 cavalry with him. These three said that this was not the time to fight, and that, though hostilities had actually commenced, it was not advisable to send reinforcements. The truth is, that all were disagreed among themselves and each was trying to defeat the other. Samsámu'ddaulah was the most influential of the three and none of them had the courage to oppose him. The emperor placed the most complete confidence in him. Still Ásaf Jáh was oldest of them all and had seen most warfare, and so in military matters most reliance was placed on his experience. For this reason he had supreme command in this campaign. He had 3,000 cavalry of his own with him. His army was 50,000 strong, but he had left them in the Dakhin, because he was afraid of exciting the emperor's distrust, and he brought only this small force. Now, when this unexpected crisis rose, he had no opportunity for summoning his army to his assistance. What could he do, he asked himself, with raw levies who knew nothing of him? The combined forces of the emperor and of the other two ministers, about 70,000 cavalry, were under his control.

To resume: when Burhánu'lmułk had sent repeatedly for aid, some went out to join him from a feeling of camaraderie and some in the hope of securing his notice. Ásaf Jáh, seeing Burhánu'lmułk's and the emperor's persistence, sent a message to the latter saying that Samsámu'ddaulah, who was camped on the north, the direction in which the fight was going on, and had command of the right wing, would go out and assist. The emperor sent an order to this effect to Amíru'lumara. The latter delayed in complying. Meanwhile a runner came in with word that Burhánu'lmułk had surrounded the Sháh of Irán and some two or three horsemen in a grove and he would soon capture him. The eunuch Ikhtiyár, who was the master of the scouts and runners, carried this intelligence to Amíru'lumara, and he started up, reflecting that Burhánu'lmułk would cut him out and have the sole credit of the victory, and that he had better go and share the credit with him, even claim the whole merit. He mounted his elephant, which

was, as customary, standing ready, and hurried off to the fight without waiting to get together any of his men. Every one in his camp who heard he had gone out, prepared and followed him. His commandant of artillery asked for orders, and was told that artillery was not needed, but only fists and fingers.

As soon as Amíru'lumara had marshalled the eight or nine thousand cavalry who had followed, he entered the fight. Experienced persons warned Burhānu'lmuġk that it was only a van of the Persian army that was engaging them; they were drawing him on and that he should not follow them. He agreed with them and was trying to retreat slowly, when Amíru'lumara came up and asked how matters were going. Burhānu'lmuġk said that these were only an advanced body thrown out by the enemy, and that they had had enough for that day: it was not wise to have any more to do with them, but they should return, and act as should seem most advisable on the morrow. Samsāmu'ddaulah fancied that Burhānu'lmuġk having fought alone wanted to gain some credit for himself aloſe, and he resolved to pursue the retreating enemy a little, scare them, and come back with laurels. So he said to Burhānu'lmuġk that, as he was tired, he might return and leave him to do a little. Burhānu'lmuġk tried in vain to dissuade him, and then returned to the fight, taking the right while Amíru'lumara took the left. The Persian skirmishers then warned the advanced body of Qazilbāshes that the Hindústānis were returning to the fight. It was then the hour of afternoon prayer. The Shāh of Irān, whose camp was six or eight miles off, now preferred to take the field in person. He gave Tahmāsp Khān the right, Fatah 'Alī Khān and Luţf 'Alī Khān the left, and the centre to Mírza Naşrullah. He told off round his son some nobles, and himself took the field at the head of four or five thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry cross-bowmen.

On steeds that were piebald, like snakes quick and light,
The Persians rode down with their spears in the air,
While the Indians, weighed down with mail in the fight,
Were helpless as crows in the threads of a snare.

The advancing Qazilbashes darkened the sky with their dust. Burhānu'lmulk thought the main body of the enemy was at hand. There were now collected on the field about 40,000 infantry and cavalry of the Indian army. They were, as was customary, not drawn up on a system, but their numbers appeared large. There were with the Shāh in all not as many as forty thousand cavalry, but as their movements were managed systematically, they seemed to be as many as seventy or eighty thousand. The Persian monarch advanced in person against Burhānu'lmulk, sent one or two thousand cavalry and a thousand of his cross-bowmen against Khān Daurān, and told off one thousand horse to keep the scattered bodies of the Hindústānis in play. He halted his right, left, and centre, two miles from the field. Thus they could hear the noise of the guns and muskets in the battle, but they could not see how the fight was progressing. The battle began. The Hindústānis not being in systematic position, did not know how each other were getting on. Khān Daurān stood with about fifteen hundred cavalry in line, while two thousand of his horse under Shahdād Khān Afghān and 'Ali Hāmid Khān Kokah, who were his old friends and righthand men, joined battle with the Persian cross-bowmen. In the same way there were miscellaneous small bodies of a thousand, five hundred, three hundred or four hundred men, standing scattered at various points, some through fear and some for safety's sake, while some were listlessly hanging their heads. One body wanted to fly but could not. It was the same with Burhānu'lmulk's force.

After a short time Shahdād Khān, 'Ali Hāmid Khān, and a considerable number of their soldiers, were killed by the enemy's arrows, and Khān Daurān was attacked. He was soon wounded by the Persian cross-bowmen. Some seven or eight hundred of his cavalry dismounted, tied the skirts of their tunics together and commenced to use their bows. This ridiculous practice is called by the Hindústānis 'utāra,' and they even boast of it. Yet in some respects they are right. As a rule, the people of India do not know how to ride, and horsemanship is unknown in Hindústān. In addition, they used their utmost efforts to efface from horses all

the qualities of the horse and make them as it were epileptic and mad. Their movements are not regulated by any intelligible principle, and it is impossible for them to be under the rider's control. I am a good rider, and, relying on my skill, I have often mounted Indian horses barebacked, in the belief that they would not be too much for me; and yet, when I have wanted to go east, they have carried me north, south, or west, and *vice versa*. If one wants to control the speed of the horse and make him travel at the pace he wishes, the beast either stands up on his hind legs or jibs or hugs a wall till he crushes his rider, or kills his rider in some other way. His paces are accompanied by jumps wholly unnatural. Yet the people of India buy such horses at fancy prices and expend great labour in training them to these tricks. This is the way with good horses. As for bad horses, they are not merely not free from these tricks, but they actually do not move at all with a rider, or but rarely. So, when Hindústáni cavalry go to battle, it is impossible for them to make a stand without suffering physically. If they are caught involved in the fight, they have no resource left but to alight and let their horses go. Though they may be killed in either case, yet the chances are greater in favour of life when they alight. If they remain in the saddle it is impossible for them to escape, for the horse, as likely as not, kills the rider before the enemy touches him. Anyhow this manœuvre of 'utára' has the appearance of bravery, and they boast of it.

To proceed: Khán Daurán's troops, without having killed one of the Qazilbáshes, dismounted in this fashion and foolishly made themselves a butt for the arrows of the Persian cross-bowmen. Their dead lay in heaps, while Khán Daurán, their leader, held his ground bravely until he was wounded and compelled to quit the field. He died next day.

The Persians, who had been hitherto engaged with Khán Daurán's troops, now turned on the detached bodies of Hindústáni troops and killed everyone that they could see. Muzaffar Khán, Khán Daurán's brother, was wounded by the arrow of a Persian cross-bowman. His head was cut off and laid before the Sháh. A number of Burhánu'l-mulk's troops were also wounded by the cross-bowmen, and some turned and fled. A few were scattered.

Burhānu'l-mulk himself held his ground and exerted himself so heroically that the Shāh several times declared that in all the battles he had fought he had never witnessed such bravery. Every one praised him and applauded his pluck. At last Burhānu'l-mulk and two or three of his clansmen and some friends were captured alive. This happened thus. The elephant on which Sher Jang Bahādur, Burhānu'l-mulk's brother's son, was riding, became infuriate and ran at Burhānu'l-mulk's elephant and drove him before him and lashed him until he chased him into the Qazilbāsh camp. They backed the elephant with sword and goad, but it was no use. This led to the Shāh of Persia's victory. The Indian Army fled, and everyone who could escape rushed into the imperial camp. Both parties admit that there were twenty thousand Hindústānī slain: and there were two hundred Qazilbāshes wounded and forty-two slain. It is probable that some of the wounded died. The reason of this strange mortality is that the Hindústānīs stood like stocks, and used ordinary bows, while the Qazilbāshes used cross-bows and could fire with a complete feeling of security. The arrow of the ordinary bow cannot compete with the arrow of the cross-bow. This led to the death of this appalling number on the one side, and, when they fled, the Qazilbāshes spared no one they could overtake. The Persians followed the fugitives up to the Indian camp.

As it was now evening, the Shāh of Persia now turned back to his tents and his troops with him. About eight or nine thousand cavalry were thrown out as scouts for the night to keep watch between the two armies and prevent the Indian army moving off under cover of the night. Burhānu'l-mulk was handed over to Muṣṭafā Khān Shamlu's custody. He had received two wounds, one with a spear, the other with an arrow. These were an addition to the old disease, which was to prove fatal. He had, though an old man, endured all this fatigue while hungry and thirsty, and his distress was so great that he looked as though he were dying. "Whom Thou wilt, exalt; and whom Thou wilt, abase. In Thy hand is that which is good. Verily Thou art powerful over everything."*

* Verse of the Qurān.

When the Qazilbâshes retired, owing to the fall of night, Nawâb Âsaf Jâh and 'Itimâdu'ddaulah brought the emperor over quietly on horseback to Burhânu'lmuik's plundered camp; but, as the proverb says, "it is your own head you may knock with your fist when the fight is over:" and there is a line that says:—

"Why come looking for me when no use you can be?"

The soldiers in the camp, three or four hundred thousand of them that they were, including servants, were utterly ignorant of the success or defeat of the troops, and even the staff knew nothing of the flight of the officers and the result of the fight: so what could the public know? When the emperor and his advisers entered Burhânu'lmuik's camp, Nawâb Âsaf Jâh heard the story of the flight and of Burhânu'lmuik's capture or disappearance, and also of Khân Daurân's return or death. The fact must be admitted that Âsaf Jâh now scored a victory, though not in the field. When he discovered the state of things, he saw that, if it became known, the whole army would fly, because they were already mounted, and he thought of a trick. He said to the emperor that the Persian army had fled and Burhânu'lmuik and Samsâmu'ddaulah had pursued them; that they had captured a number of the enemy's officers and men and would soon bring them in. He congratulated the emperor and gave orders to sound a victory. The news of the victory at once spread through the camp. He then said that, as it was night, they should return to their tents and he would follow Burhânu'lmuik next day. He escorted the emperor with the utmost coolness to his tent with sounds of victory, and ordered the troops to disperse to their tents and rest and enjoy themselves. He then told the emperor privately the true facts and explained that this was a ruse to cause the troops to retire. The emperor and others who heard the announcement were staggered, but they kept the secret that night. In the morning Âsaf Jâh, fearing a fresh attack of the Qazilbâshes, brought the emperor and the troops out on horseback and struck the tents. They stood waiting there until evening, lost in perplexity. An intelligencer came and reported that Samsâmu'ddaulah had been wounded. Âsaf Jâh did what he deemed the best to the man. The Persian scouts brought

in word that the Indian soldiers had mounted and were going to fly. The Sháh at once moved out in the direction of the Indian camp; but in an hour or two another report came contradicting the first and the Sháh returned and retired to his tent.

This day Burhānu'l-mulk remained under the Sháh's displeasure. Next morning the Sháh sent him some melons and told him not to lose heart; that he would treat him kindly. Burhānu'l-mulk sent what he deemed the most politic reply in return, and was treated with continued attention. He then suggested that, if he were so ordered, he would send for his soldiers from the imperial camp. This was approved. He sent a messenger to summon his soldiers and bring his baggage, whatever was left, and what had arrived after him at Karnál: and he brought up in the space of half a day about ten or twelve thousand men, and the baggage, furniture and tents, and pitched them at one side of the Persian camp. The Sháh was astonished at the sight, and the respect he paid to Burhānu'l-mulk was increased.

In fine, at Burhānu'l-mulk's suggestion, proposals of peace were made, and the Sháh sent letters to the Emperor and each of his ministers: but not one of them could believe the proposals. At last, after considerable negotiation, it was agreed that the Emperor of India should come and visit the Sháh of Persia and present money. The Sháh promised to respect his life and dignity. Most of the Indian officers disbelieved the Sháh's professions, but what was to be done in the extremity? So they consented to the visit. Asaf Jáh first plucked up courage and went alone and waited on the Sháh, and then brought the Emperor to see him. The two monarchs spent a couple of hours together. Nádir Sháh wished the Emperor to stay with him until sunset, but he would not stay; he returned to his own camp. Two or three days more were spent in negotiations. Well, it was finally agreed that the Indian Emperor should send his soldiers back to Sháhjahánábád or some other place, and come with about a thousand men or less, and pitch his camp with the Persian potentate; that they should after three days more march together to Sháhjahánábád; that the Indian monarch should entertain the Persian for two months, and then

the latter would return to his own country, leaving the empire of India in its own ruler's hands as before. The Emperor of India had no choice. He fell in with these proposals and did as he was asked.

When the bird's in the net,
'Tis a fool to fret.

Burhānu'l-mulk was invested with a state robe and was admitted to private interviews with the Shāh. His troops departed by another route to his sūbah, and he became plenipotentiary general of both monarchs. It was settled that Tuhmāsp Khān Jalābar and Burhānu'l-mulk should go on ahead to Shāhjahanābād with four or five thousand cavalry, look after the sanitary arrangements of the city, and prepare rooms for the Shāh in the imperial palace in the fort, and see that there was no putrid matter or liquid filth in the city or the imperial quarters. They were to quiet the populace and dispel their fears. Burhānu'l-mulk accordingly came to Shāhjahanābād and began to carry out these orders. He spread the shadow of his kindness over great and small. He was indeed an angel in human guise. The two monarchs arrived after a few days and entered the city in great pomp, one marching only a gunshot behind the other. Though Muhammad Shāh had only a thousand cavalry in his escort, 'Itimādu'd-daulah Qamru'd-din Khān had between ten and fifteen thousand horse, and there were smaller contingents. The Shāh of Persia was accompanied by only 'Abdul Bāqi Khān, and some few others, not more than twenty Qazilbāshes. The Hindūstānis marched fully armed and pompously, but they were really trembling at their companions in the march.

On a Friday, in the month of Zīhijh, 1151 A.H. [1739 A.D.], the Shāh of Persia entered Shāhjahanābād and Burhānu'l-mulk remained till evening in the imperial fort, but he suffered so much with the pain in his foot and the wounds he had sustained that he was sometimes insensible: yet he held up by sheer force of will and obtained fresh marks of favour. It was even ordered that he should be called to the seat of grand wazīr. An awning woven with pearls was spread over him, and all the officers of both the Persian and Indian monarch were ordered to walk past and

salute him. To this proceeding he would not agree, saying that this would break 'Itimádu'ddaulah Qamru'ddin's heart and make him think him mean. He said: "The services I render to this empire are not for the sake of the office of wazír. I look for something better than that." He remained in the fort until 9 P.M., when he returned to his private house and lay down in great suffering, and began to beg the Almighty to grant him release in death. He said: "I cannot enjoy life any more," and he had for some days neglected to apply the ointment to his foot. His prayer was answered towards morning, and he died. His death caused universal regret and was most unfortunate for the people of India. The proof of this is that, on the second day after his death, the Qazilbáshes began to worry the Hindústánis. The natives of India are great fools and impatient of control. They had never experienced such treatment as they now did, and, being unable to endure it, began to retaliate. The result was a collision, and mutual retaliation, until at last a general tumult ensued. The Indian populace fell upon the Persians in the streets and markets, wherever they found them, and killed all they could. They circulated a rumour that the Emperor had killed the Sháh of Persia. It happened that the Sháh had gone that evening to visit the Emperor and drink coffee with him. This gave a colour to the report. The Persians became infuriated and the public excitement rose to a still higher pitch. About 9 o'clock in the evening reports of this commotion were made by them in fear to the Sháh, but he would not believe the report and said to his men that they were merely casting imputations on the Indian people with evil designs, that they might have a pretext for killing some of them and plundering their property. The reports kept pouring in, and he sent a confidential agent to make inquiries and let him know the truth. The messenger was killed the moment he passed outside the fort. Another who was sent shared the same fate. The Sháh then ordered a thousand of his cross-bowmen to go out and disperse the crowds. They did so, but the tumult did not cease. It moderated about 3 A.M., but the disturbance was renewed with the same intensity after sunrise. The Hindústánis exceeded all bounds, and about a thousand Persian soldiers were killed. About 8 A.M., the Sháh himself issued from the fort and

went to Roshan'uddaulah's school-house, which is in the very heart of the bázár, and sat there. He ordered the bowmen to go with two or three thousand others and kill all the Hindústánis they could. A general massacre ensued and lasted until about 3 P.M. They killed every one they saw. Strange to say, the low and dissolute scoundrels, who had caused all the disturbance, fled and escaped, while respectable residents, who could not leave their homes unprotected, were killed. Though some guilty persons were killed, half the dead were innocent people. "Disaster is blind when it revels unchecked." I have heard from the kotwál of the city, and others, that nearly one hundred thousand people were killed, but I think this is an exaggeration. I estimate the number at twenty thousand. The Sháh of Persia certainly did not contemplate so much bloodshed, but he was bound to take this step as a warning when he saw the unbridled insolence of the people. Had he not done so, he could not possibly have stopped the tumult. All this happened in two or three wards and a market which were near the fort. There were also some people killed in the grain-dealers' ward, which is a long way from the fort. The rising had begun there. The Sháh proclaimed an amnesty in the evening. Had Burhánulmulk been living, this disturbance could not have arisen in the city. He would himself have nipped it in the bud.

A quatrain was written as an elegy on the death of the lamented Nawáb.*

He was not himself a poet, but he sometimes broke into verses rich with martial similes, and the following couplet is his:—

"How shall I come within range of thine eye?
Thy lashes are spears that doom me to die."

* This I have not translated, as it is obscure and probably incorrectly written in the M.S.



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